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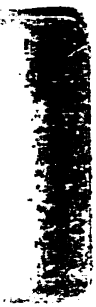

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THE

# WARS OF SUCCESSION

OF

# PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,

FROM 1826 TO 1840:

WITH RÉSUMÉ OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

*MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.*

BY

WILLIAM BOLLAERT, F.R.G.S.

CORR. MEM. UNIV. CHILE; ETHNO. SOCS. LONDON, NEW YORK, ETC.

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Merino; his ally, Hilarion, shot—Louis Philippe recognises Isabella II.; England also—Unsuccessful rising in Madrid of Royalist Volunteers—Conflicting Carlist and Christino politics—Don Carlos assumes the title of Carlos V., King of Spain—Zea threatens him—Don Carlos tries Rodil—Isabella II. proclaimed in Madrid—Don Carlos tries Sarsfield—Bishop of Leon "Ministro Universal"—Don Carlos has no funds and few soldiers—He writes to Legitimist sovereigns for help—Zumalacarregui successful—Zea Ministry falls; Martinez de la Rosa in power; causes a Liberal Royal Statute to be issued—Authorities.

CHARLES IV. ascended the throne of Spain in 1788; his Queen was Maria Luisa de Borbon and Parma. About 1784 Manuel Godoy, the guitar-player and singer of "seguidillas graciosas y picantes" of the Royal Body Guard, became the inseparable favourite of the Queen, and was also on the best of terms with her husband! In 1789 was the "Jura" by the Cortes to Ferdinand (born in 1784) as Prince of Asturias, as next heir to the throne. However the Queen and Godoy were the principal actors in worrying the King to abrogate the Salic law; when at a special meeting of the Cortes, which was bound to secrecy, they were told that their concurrence was wished to vary the law of succession as it stood, by revising law 2, title 5, of the "Partidas," whereby females succeed to the crown on a par with males. By this stratagem the proposed measure was carried. The government of the country was despotic, still it was necessary for the Cortes to sanction all public acts. One reason stated for this abrogation was that, as Maria Luisa's daughter, Carlota, was then the wife of the Prince Royal of Portugal, through her, or her children, Portugal might be joined to Spain; however, the main cause was the enmity of the Queen and Godoy to Ferdinand.

The Queen made Godoy Prime Minister and Duke of

Alcudia in 1792. Then followed a war with the French Republic, terminating in 1795 by the discreditable Convention of Basle, when Godoy became Principe de la Paz! He obtained the hand of a Spanish Infanta, the daughter of Don Luis and niece of Charles IV., although his first wife was living. He even aspired to be Regent of Spain. In 1801 he was Generalissimo, and shortly afterwards Grand Admiral. He now entered into arrangements with Napoleon, and the Spanish fleet in conjunction with that of France, which was to destroy the naval power of England, was gloriously shattered to pieces by Nelson at Trafalgar, October 21st, 1805, when Spain lost her commerce and her colonies. Still in 1806 Godoy was all-powerful and supported by the Queen.

Early in 1807, Napoleon, perceiving there was royal domestic discord in Madrid, particularly between Godoy and Ferdinand, sent an army across the Pyrenees, under pretext of marching into Portugal, but to be in readiness for operations in Spain. In July was the so-called conspiracy of Ferdinand against his father (it was against Godoy). October 27th the secret treaty of Fontainebleau was entered into, Godoy and Maria Luisa being the principal negotiators, by which Charles IV. ceded his infant grandson's kingdom of Etruria to France on condition that Napoleon should receive from the King of Spain the Portuguese provinces of Entre Minho and Douro and Tras os Montes, under the name of the kingdom of Northern Lusitania; Alemtejo and Algarves to constitute a principality for Godoy.

Spanish affairs did not progress satisfactorily with regard to Napoleon; Godoy and the Queen were at one time for declaring war against France; Ferdinand denounced the government of his mother's favourite to Napoleon,

begging him to interfere; the King wrote to him that Ferdinand wished to usurp the throne, requesting his advice; so, in March, 1808, a French army entered Madrid. On the 19th Charles IV. abdicated in favour of Ferdinand, but two days afterwards protested against this act. Godoy now fell to rise no more. One of his grandiloquent sayings was, "Calumny dies with the obscure, but lives and is firmly rooted in the grave of the public man!"

Napoleon got the Spanish royal family smuggled to Bayonne, where, on May 5th, and at the instigation of Godoy, Charles IV. abdicated the throne of Spain (forced) in favour of Napoleon, "his friend and ally;" * when Ferdinand had also to relinquish the crown. The King, Queen, and Godoy went into exile, first to Fontainebleau, then to Compiègne, Marseilles, then to Rome, where the King died. Ferdinand and Carlos were sent to Valençay.

Napoleon considered Ferdinand the impersonation of meanness and treachery: "The Prince of Asturias is very silly and base. . . . He inspires me with no interest. He is dull to a degree, has no play of countenance—in a word, a mere dissembler."

Of Carlos, a Legitimist writer says:—"When Napoleon urged upon his brother Ferdinand and himself to renounce their rights to the crown of Spain and accept the kingdom of Etruria, Carlos replied, 'I had rather die than live without honour; I will not consent.'"

"El Dos de Mayo"—the 2nd of May—was the day on which the people of Madrid, forsaken by their native rulers, Joseph Bonaparte having been named king, and goaded to

* The first protest against the compulsory abdication was that of Carlos Pedro, nephew of Charles IV., the husband of the Princess of Beira, dated Rio de Janeiro, August 20th, 1808.

despair by the French, commenced their massacre, but were overpowered by the Viceroy, Murat, and his 25,000 troops. Joseph entered Madrid as King of Spain and the Indies, July 20th; he had to retreat on the 29th; but in December an increase of French bayonets seated him on a very uneasy throne.

Now followed the glorious Peninsular War, when the armies of England, Spain, and Portugal, after six years of severe fighting, defeated Napoleon's legions.

The Spanish Cortes assembled in 1810. On May 8th, 1812, the Constitution was proclaimed. In 1814, on the 13th May, Ferdinand VII. entered Madrid, promising to uphold the Constitution, which he did not do, evidently schooled by the supporters of the "Holy Alliance." Don Carlos vehemently opposed this rational system of rule, and was ever afterwards looked upon with great suspicion by all shades of Liberals.

No sooner was Ferdinand on the throne than Absolutism began to reign; the Inquisition, the Jesuits, shooting and the gibbet were re-established.

In January, 1820, the revolution commenced in support of the Constitution, headed by Riego, Quiroga, and other patriots.

March 8th.—The King was made to swear to the Constitution. There is a remarkable line in the "Hippolytus" of Euripides, in point as regards Ferdinand VII.:—

"My tongue swore 'Yes,' but my mind said 'No.'"

When that iambic was heard in the theatre, the Greek audience rose like one man, and execrated this great tragedian.

Now was perpetrated one of the acts of the Unholy

Alliance,* by Louis XVIII. of France sending, in 1823, an army of 100,000 men into Spain, which invested Cadiz in June. The battle of the Trocadero was fought August 31st, when the Liberals were put down, and Ferdinand again revelled in Absolutism. Riego, that soldier of liberty, was put to death as a traitor, November 27th.

In 1825 there was an unsuccessful conspiracy of ultra-Absolutos to dethrone Ferdinand and place their idol, Don Carlos, on the throne.

Ferdinand VII., in November, 1829, married a fourth wife, Christina, a daughter of the King of the two Sicilies. The following were now the great political parties in Spain: 1st, That of Ferdinand, Absoluto, his ministers having to change about as he pleased, or as pressing circumstances occurred, and had the army with them. Wellington, in his "Despatches" (1817) said "Spain was ruled and abused by a treacherous tyrant (Ferdinand VII.) and breaking out into a civil war." 2nd, That of Don Carlos, ultra-Absoluto, which included the great power and wealth of the Church.† 3rd, The Constitutionalists—Liberals of various grades. 4th, The Neapolitan, headed by Carlota, the daring wife of the Infante, Francisco de Paula, who spurred her sister Queen Christina on to use every influence with the King against Don Carlos, and this party could always count upon the

* The Secret Treaty (of the "Holy Alliance") of Verona, entered into by Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia, on the 22nd November, 1822, had for one of its prime objects to put down Liberalism in Spain and Portugal.

† The Church of Spain at this time rejoiced in 58 archbishops, 684 bishops, 11,400 abbots, 936 chapters, 127,000 parishes (with their priests), 7,000 hospitals (with their priests), 23,000 religious fraternities, 46,000 monasteries, 135,000 convents, 312,000 secular priests, 200,000 inferior clergy, and 400,000 monks and nuns.

Liberals, when promising them their sympathy. Then there were various Camarillas, most important Spanish institutions.

When Queen Christina gave signs of pregnancy, the Liberals, and those who were ready to go round to the party thought to be the strongest, thinking it probable that she might give birth to a daughter, lost no time in procuring the abolition of the Salic law of 1713. The Liberals referred to the "Expediente" of the Cortes of 1789 to Carlos IV., (the Queen's and Godoy's illegal manœuvre) for his abolition of the Salic law; but as Don Carlos had been born in 1788, it was therefore contended by some that Charles IV. had not the power to sign any law doing away with Don Carlos' legitimate right to the crown. However, such was the power of Queen Christina (and the Liberals who supported her) over Ferdinand, that he despotically abrogated the Salic law on the 30th March, 1830, by what is called the pragmatic sanction (not a very legal proceeding), fixing the order of succession upon females in default of males.

Don Carlos might have, and perhaps legally, protested against these peculiar dynastic proceedings. Had he done so, he would have been ordered at once out of the country by the Ministry then in power, and he was not the man to take up arms during the lifetime of his brother Ferdinand.

Queen Christina gave birth to a daughter on the 10th October, who was named Isabella.

In December, 1830, was the Cadiz revolution—the tenth unsuccessful struggle for liberty. Torrijos, accompanied by sixty or seventy followers, the heads of the old Constitutional party, including an Englishman, Mr. Boyd, being chased by a revenue vessel, landed near Malaga. They got to

the country house of the Conde Molina, where they were besieged by General Moreno and made prisoners. He took them to Malaga, imprisoning them in a convent. By a law then in force they should have been shot on the spot; but Moreno wrote to Ferdinand VII. for instructions. Ferdinand sent orders to shoot the prisoners, (including Boyd) which was done six or eight hours after the order had been received.

In September, 1832, a severe attack of gout so prostrated Ferdinand, that for awhile it was thought he was dead. Still no active effort was made on the part of Don Carlos or his friends to get the power into their hands; they merely intrigued a little to exclude Isabella from the throne.

On Ferdinand's unexpected and partial recovery his Ministers fell into disgrace, and the Queen was instructed by certain influential persons to induce her husband to make "some arrangement" with Don Carlos. He was offered the post of "adviser" to the Queen, who had been appointed Regent during the late illness of the King; this Don Carlos refused. It was then proposed that he should be co-Regent, and that his eldest son should be affianced to Isabella (then two years of age, the Prince fourteen); to this Don Carlos would not consent, saying that he trusted to the wish of the nation as regarded himself and family on the death of Ferdinand.

The more staunch of Don Carlos' partizans, among the old nobility, the army, and the Church, became so excited that in their tertulias (evening parties) they proclaimed Don Carlos king; but he himself kept in the background.

Ferdinand, who had been worked upon by the Legitimist party, ordered Calomarde, Minister of Grace and Justice, on the 18th September, 1832, to draw up the

abrogation of the pragmatic sanction of 30th March, 1830; but this document was not to be made public until after the King's death, to be deposited meanwhile in the safe keeping of the senior member of the Council of Castile.

On this coming to the knowledge of the Infanta Carlota, sister of the Queen, she boldly accused everyone concerned in the transaction as traitors to the King, and she had sufficient influence to cause Francisco Tadeo Calomarde to be banished to his estates, whence he escaped into France.

*September 15th*,* 1832.—The Queen as Regent signed the decree of amnesty in favour of the expatriated Constitutionalists. However, these did not like the terms of it, and addressed her from Paris on the 5th November, saying, they had been driven from their country for their patriotism and needed no pardon. Still they came back and swelled the ranks of the Liberals.

Zea Bermudez was recalled, when he issued a political manifesto on the 4th December, 1832. One portion of it suppressed the Royalist volunteers, a force Don Carlos much counted on, whenever the death of the King might happen. Two new regiments of cavalry, bearing the name of Isabella, were formed and officered by Constitutionalists. This is known as the "purifying work" of Zea Bermudez, which being finished, he was anxious to get the King to cancel the document against his daughter's succession he had signed at S. Ildefonso, persuading him that he had been imposed on. Ferdinand acceded to Zea's wish, and signed a decree to that effect on the 31st December, 1833.

An imaginary conspiracy was now promulgated, it is

* Did not appear in the *Madrid Gazette* till the 23rd October.

said by the Liberals, to assassinate the Queen and her two daughters, to place Don Carlos on the throne, and declare Ferdinand VII. incapacitated for reigning. Such things may have been talked about by the Carlist party, and there may have been a few with the inclination to resort to strong measures against the Queen and her children. The country should have been appealed to as to whether or not a majority of the people were in favour of Don Carlos, with the determination to abide by the result. Then was the time for the partizans of Don Carlos to have offered to Spain a rational form of government suited to the progressive spirit of the times. Nothing was done by the Carlist party, so what other form of policy than Absolutism could be anticipated from Don Carlos?

Carlist disturbances took place in the northern provinces, when the Bishop of Leon, an old adherent of Don Carlos, was arrested.

The Princess of Beira (daughter of John VI. of Portugal), widow of the Spanish Infante Don Pedro, and mother of Don Sebastian, was ordered into banishment, as publicly espousing Carlism. She went to Portugal. Don Carlos and his family were ordered off also, as well as Don Sebastian and his wife. They all left Madrid on the 16th March.

The exile of Don Carlos from Spain was a masterstroke of Zea Bermudez' policy. It paralysed the Absoluto party, and left the Liberals masters of the field, the treasury, the army, and the Government.

Don Carlos had been in Portugal some little time when the Spanish Minister at the court of Dom Miguel, Luis Fernandez de Cordova, waited on him, asking him to recognise his niece as Princess of Asturias, and swear obedience to her on the assembling of the forthcoming Cortes—this was

called the "Jura." Don Carlos refused, and wrote to that effect from the palace of Ramalhão, 29th April, with a letter to Ferdinand, who replied to it on the 6th May, ordering him to proceed at once to Rome, putting a Spanish vessel of war at his disposal at Lisbon for this purpose.

The "Jura" in favour of the Infanta Isabella took place in Madrid, on the 20th June, when the Carlists, particularly those of Ciudad Rodrigo, near to the Portuguese frontier, sent to Don Carlos to know how they were to act on the death of his brother.* Don Carlos was then at Thomar, in Portugal, and had come from Coimbra, where he and his family had been with Dom Miguel, but who now had gone to join his army, which was besieging Oporto, defended by his elder brother Dom Pedro. Don Carlos now moved to Abrantes on the Tagus, and was thought to be making preparations to leave Portugal for Rome; but, ere he went, he returned to Coimbra, apparently to take leave of Dom Miguel and his sisters-in-law, Isabella Maria and Maria de la Asuncion.

Don Carlos had been at Coimbra about a fortnight when he heard of the capture of Dom Miguel's fleet by Napier, then the defeat of Dom Miguel before Oporto, and the occupation of Lisbon by the Pedroites.

Ferdinand VII. died on the 29th September, 1833. His will, bearing date 12th June, 1830, was immediately published, by which Queen Christina was declared Regent during the minority of her eldest daughter.†

* About this time the two parties took openly the names of Cristino and Carlist. In Don Carlos was personified a principle, that of the old society, the traditional despotism. In Isabella II. was personified the other principle, that of modern ideas, that of the future, that of progress.

† Ferdinand VII. was born at San Ildefonso, 14th October, 1784. In 1802

Now, then, had arrived the appointed time for the partizans of Don Carlos to have boldly declared in Madrid his accession to the throne. However the affair might have gone, it would have been a short sanguinary piece of business; but it would have prevented a long and exterminating second war of succession among the Spaniards, of Liberalism against Absolutism.*

It is sometimes said that if Don Carlos had been in Madrid when Ferdinand died, or had marched boldly on the capital after that event, the crown would have been his without a struggle, but the delay was fatal to his cause. However, Don Carlos, up to this period, had not the means to attempt such an operation.

The Queen, after some days of much uneasiness, published on the 4th October her manifesto, a document made as palatable as possible for all parties.

In the northern provinces there was prompt Carlist decision; for on the 5th October a movement commenced at Bilbao under Zabala, Eruma, the Marquis

he married Maria Antoinette, fifth daughter of Ferdinand IV. of Naples, who died in 1806; in 1816 his niece Isabella Maria Francesca, daughter of King John IV. of Portugal, and of his sister Carlota Joaquina, Infanta of Spain, who died in 1818, his second and best wife; thirdly, in 1824, Maria Josephine Amelia, daughter of Prince Maximilian of Saxony, who died in 1829; the fourth wife was Maria Christina, daughter of Francis I., King of Naples, whom he married 14th December, 1829. She had two daughters; 1st, the Infanta Maria Isabella, born 10th October, 1830; 2nd, the Infanta Maria Luisa, born 30th January, 1832. Ford ("Handbook of Spain"), speaking of the portraits of the Spanish Bourbons, "from the baboon head of Carlos III. to the porcine sensuality of Ferdinand VII.," says, "they and their consorts are fit mates, Ferdinand VII. being about as inæsthetic a Goth as ever smoked tobacco. Multitudinous French clocks were the especial hobby of Ferdinand."

* The first war of succession in Spain was, whether an Austrian or French Prince should succeed to the throne; it lasted from 1702 to 1713. The French Prince succeeded.

Valdespina,* and others, rapidly extending into Alava, Guipuzcoa and Navarre, when the banner was unfurled for Don Carlos, not forgetting, however, their "fueros," or provincial rights.

Santos Ladron escaped from the prisons of Valladolid, got into Navarre and proclaimed Carlos V. at Los Arcos. He was entrapped on the 15th October by the Cristinos and immediately shot,† with thirty-two of his companions. Ituralde, his lieutenant, assumed the command of the Carlists of Navarre.

Zumalacarregui, who had had his regiment taken from him, fled from Pamplona, and put himself at the head of the Carlists in the Basque Provinces, which, according to Henningsen,‡ consisted of 800 infantry, 14 cavalry, 1 artillery officer, field pieces 0, an old 18-pounder buried in Biscay, and about £200.

The Queen had 116,000 troops of the line, 12,000 volunteers and irregulars = 128,000 men.

However, under Zumalacarregui and other chiefs, the Carlist troops increased rapidly, but were badly armed. At the end of the year there were 35,000 Carlists in the field.

Tomas Zumalacarregui was born at Ormastegui in Guipuzcoa, December 29th, 1788. He was the youngest of three brothers; the one became the cura of his native place, the other a lawyer. He entered the service as a cadet in 1808; in 1815 he was a captain. In 1820 he was

* "Mariana III.," p. 352.—The first sign was made on the 2nd October, by an employé of the post-office of Talavera de la Reyna.

† Guevara was one of the strongholds of the Carlists. In the town is the *casa solar* or *casa fuerte* of the Ladrones de Guevara, an illustrious house. The Carlist general Santos Ladron was the first victim of the civil war; he was executed by the Cristino general Castanon.

‡ "A Year with Zumalacarregui."

denounced by his comrades for his rather Absoluto opinions. He went into garrison at Ciudad Rodrigo in 1822, thence to Navarre, when a fruitless insurrection was attempted in May against the Constitution. He remained with his regiment in Pamplona till June, when there was another rising. He was about this time taken by brigands and wounded, but was rescued by General Quesada and went to Pamplona. He now got command of two battalions of Quesada's division of Royalists contending against the troops of the Constitutionalists, continuing until 1824, when the division was disbanded. This same year he organized the Volunteers of Aragon and joined the army. The chiefs having been nominated by the King, Zumalacarregui, who was not of the number, was sent back to Pamplona with unlimited leave of absence, when he received the rank of colonel. He was appointed a member of the military commission of Pamplona, and, at the end of 1825, to the first or King's regiment of volunteers, then in Nuesca, then to the 3rd of the Line, then to the 3rd Volunteers of Gerona, which he commanded till June, 1831; then to the 14th of the Line. On the 20th of June Llauder, inspector of infantry, had him arrested on the charge of being an enemy to the government which Ferdinand had confided during his illness to his wife. Offended at this, he demanded to be sent on leave to Pamplona, where his family resided. He arrived at Pamplona in August, 1833. Ferdinand died on the 29th of September, when Zumalacarregui quitted his family, and by the 30th October was in the midst of the Carlists.

The Cura Geronimo Merino, "the Mina of the plains," was now actively in motion for Don Carlos about Burgos. José Hilarion, the commander of the Royalist volunteers, who aided him, was taken and shot.

A movement detrimental to the interests of Don Carlos, on the part of Louis Philippe, King of the French, now happened. He recognised Isabella as Queen of Spain, and sent his general Harispe with 20,000 men to hang about the Spanish frontier to assist his young ally in case of need, doubtless with an eye to the marriage of one of his sons to the Queen of Spain. The Whig Government, with Lord Palmerston as Foreign Minister, also acknowledged Isabella II.

Some Royalist volunteers (now Carlists) offered stout resistance to the Queen's authority in Madrid on the 29th October. They fortified themselves in their barracks and fought desperately. They had no chief of importance to command them, neither did other troops come to their assistance.

Don Carlos was now at Castel Branco, north of the Tagus, where he continued to receive favourable news from the Basque Provinces.

A very large quantity of conflicting matter has been written both by Cristinos and Carlists, as to the real state of Ferdinand's views in regard to what might occur at his demise. Doubtless he was pulled to pieces by contending parties and camarillas. The author has it on good authority, even from Calomarde himself, that when the King's last moments were approaching, and he was informed as to the desperate political condition of his country, he said: "When I am dead, you will have the iron rod of civil war to rule you." Progress of any sort he could not understand, and Liberalism meant revolution.

Don Carlos was at Santarem on the Tagus, when Cordova, the Spanish Minister, came to announce the death of his brother Ferdinand VII., handing him an order to proceed at once to Italy, which he would not do.

Don Carlos now assumed the title of Carlos V., King of Spain, protesting against all that had lately been done in Madrid, and wrote to the Queen Dowager that he would treat her with the greatest consideration; and in order that the affairs of state might experience no interruption, he confirmed the existing ministers in their respective offices. Zea Bermudez answered this protest of Don Carlos, by telling him that he was a "disloyal prince, and the disturber of the peace of Spain," threatening him with all the rigour of the laws if he returned to the country.

On the 5th October, Don Carlos went to Marvão in Alemtejo, on the Spanish frontier, for the purpose of placing himself at the head of troops he hoped would make their appearance, and a march upon Madrid he thought he perceived in the distant vista. The cholera raged on the frontier, and the people were not well-disposed towards him. The Cristino general Rodil commanded thereabouts. Don Carlos sent Captain Arroyo to induce Rodil to recognise him. Rodil replied that "he had no more doubts than himself respecting Don Carlos' right to the crown, but that his honour was engaged in the cause of Queen Isabella." Rodil invited Arroyo to dinner, but, in dismissing him, declared that if he again presented himself before him, he should be shot; also if Don Carlos entered the Spanish territory he would be treated with the utmost rigour of the law.

Don Carlos issued his first proclamation "to his beloved subjects" October 15th, for the printing of which his wife and the Princess of Beira set up the type.

The public proclamation in Madrid of Isabella II. (who was present with her mother) took place October the 25th. The senior king-at-arms cried out in a loud voice: "Silence, silence, silence! hear, hear, hear!" Then

the alferez (mayor), waving the national standard, replied: "Castilla, Castilla, Castilla! for the Lady Queen Isabella II., whom God guards." Then the four kings-at-arms showered over the people a large quantity of gold and silver medals commemorative of the event.

Don Carlos had now been eleven days at Marvão, when he left, going north to Castel Branco, where his family joined him. He tried his influence on General Sarsfield (born at Corunna; his father was an Irishman) who had a command of 25,000 men to the south of Rodil. On the 10th December, Don Carlos sent him a letter by one of his agents, a French Legitimist, M. Auguet de St. Sylvain,* naming him commander-in-chief of his army of operations and his first aide-de-camp, requesting the General to recognise him as King of Spain. Sarsfield had been an old friend of Don Carlos', still, whatever his own views were as to the rights of Don Carlos, his "honour," like that of Rodil's, caused him to adhere to Isabella. It is said that Sarsfield was disposed to declare for Don Carlos, and that he did not do so because, instead of receiving a "Carta Orden" signed by Don Carlos as King of Spain, the letter was only signed by the Bishop of Leon.†

The Carlists assert that had Sarsfield thrown the weight of his command into the Carlist scale of politics, such an act would have given redoubled courage to the Royalist volunteers and others, and that Don Carlos could then have marched victoriously to Madrid, seeing

* There was some difficulty in finding a person to go to Sarsfield, when St. Sylvain said, "Yo, si no hai otro"—"I, if there is no other." He took these words for his motto when Don Carlos made him Baron de los Valles, on his escorting him from England, through France into Spain. —See "Career of Don Carlos," by Baron de los Valles, 1835.

† "Mariana His. España," vol. iii., p. 353.

that the northern provinces had already hoisted his flag and shouted their cry of "Fueros in danger."

A certain general, who was in Valladolid, and supposed to be a staunch Carlist, informed a messenger sent to him that "ill-health made it impossible to obey orders."

Sarsfield * soon went with a large force to the north of Vittoria, and the numerous small corps of Carlist Royalist volunteers commanded by Cuevillas, Berasteguy, and the Cura Merino, dispersed at his approach.

Sarsfield entered Bilbao, and then went to Pamplona. Zumalacarregui was posted in his front and the Cristino general looked upon him as a formidable opponent.

On the 28th November, Don Carlos being at Miranda del Duero, near the northern frontier of Portugal, received information that Rodil was making arrangements to seize him and his family, so on the 1st December he retreated to Braganza.

On the 9th, he went in a south-westerly direction to Villa Real, when he appointed the Bishop of Leon his "Ministro Universal," charging him with the government.

Don Carlos had now with him one hundred and fifty officers, brought by Generals Moreno, Merino (the cura), and Cuevillas; also a battalion formed of volunteers from Galicia and Castile. He might have had more soldiers had he been in a position to pay, or even ration, them. At this time, Don Carlos' wife and the Princess de Beira had, it is believed, sold the few diamonds they had with them for about £5000.

* "Mariana," vol. iii., p. 353.—Sarsfield asked the Madrid Government for 80,000 men to quell the Carlist revolt, which was not acceded to. (It has been hinted that he might have taken this large body of men over to Don Carlos.)

Don Carlos entreated Dom Miguel to let him have 3000 men, with which, in addition to those he had with him at Villa Real, he proposed to enter Spain and proceed to Biscay. Those around the fugitive prince said that "the misfortunes of Spain would neither have been so long nor so deplorable if the Legitimist sovereigns had understood their duties as thoroughly as Carlos V. estimated his." It may be observed that the sovereigns alluded to had then their own affairs to watch and look carefully after; and then England and France had recognised Isabella II.

As Don Carlos was led to suppose he was on the eve of entering Spain, it was deemed advisable to address autograph letters to the Legitimist sovereigns acquainting them with his projected operations, asking for funds, arms, and ammunition, but above all the concurrence of their authority. He also begged that Spain should be left at liberty to decide between his rights and the pretensions of his niece; also that foreign intervention (England, France, and Portugal) should not make a revolutionary question of one which was purely national.

Zumalacarregui, as the Carlists said, had already worn out the Cristino generals, Sarsfield, Valdez, and Quesada. The last great Carlist success had been the "brilliant victory" at Guernica. Mina was now called by the Queen into the field, when he commenced a war of extermination.

The sovereigns of the north pondered over the doings of Zea Bermudez, who had undertaken to "repress the revolutionary flame" with which Spain was menaced, and it is thought that they were considering whether they ought not to recognise Isabella II., when Zea Bermudez fell, and his Conservative-Liberal system with him.

Martinez de la Rosa, a great admirer of Louis Philippe's, succeeded Zea. On the 10th of April, 1834, by his advice, the Queen issued a Liberal Royal statute, by which concession he hoped to satisfy the demands more particularly of his party.

Such is the brief statement of the position of Spanish affairs connected up to March, 1834, the time when the writer commences his own observations.

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## CHAPTER II.

**Legitimists and Liberals—Author goes with despatches to Don Carlos and Dom Miguel—Baron Maurice de Haber—Embarks from Plymouth; one of his companions, M. A. de St. Sylvain, Don Carlos' agent—Becalmed, taken by 'Argos,' Spanish man-of-war—Our cargo, arms, &c.—'No Entende' won't do—St. Sylvain and self sent on board 'Argos,' anticipation of 'Cuatro ballazos'—I learn Spanish too rapidly—Carlist officers sent to prison—The "manaña" (delay) system saves us—Charley Napier takes Viana—Request a passage to England in a British man-of-war; refused—Napier takes Valença—Our declarations taken, we are not believed!—Suspicion that St. Sylvain wishes to escape without me—Allowed to live on shore—I examine the geography of the country—Spanish galleons—St. Sylvain arranges for our escape, his great delay in joining me, he blames me, I resent, big words, satisfaction, &c., wait till we get across the Minho, explanations, no duelling.**

In Volume I. it is stated that I was a volunteer during the siege of Oporto. I left Lisbon after Donna Maria had been proclaimed Queen in her capital, in bad health, in September, 1833. On recovery the following year, I cast about for occupation and adventure; and as I had some knowledge of the Liberals in Portugal, I was desirous to know something about the Legitimists, but now as a civilian; my politics being of a Liberal-Conservative character.

I became acquainted with some Portuguese, Spanish, and Continental Legitimists (there were also a few English Tories) who were not averse to a progressive system of politics, and who had long since pressed, but without success, upon Dom Miguel to issue a reasonable manifesto

—at the present moment had begged of Don Carlos to do the same.

As to the governments on the Continent:—Naples was absoluto; Austria under the management of Metternich; Prussia increasing her military power, but could bend a little when it suited; Russia energetic for Eastern conquests, with Siberia for opponents to her system; England, France, and Belgium generally defended Liberal principles. The Liberals in Portugal were having it nearly all their own way; but as regarded Spain matters looked rather problematical.

The beginning of March, 1834, despatches of importance were entrusted to me by Baron Maurice de Haber,* emanating from the Courts of —— ——, for Don Carlos and Dom Miguel, both of whom were in Portugal. Don Carlos was supposed to be preparing to enter Spain; Dom Miguel was somewhere on the Tagus opposed by Dom Pedro.

It was arranged that a fast-sailing vessel should take some persons connected with Dom Miguel and Don Carlos and myself from England to the north of Portugal, say to Caminha; thence I was to get to my destination as circumstances permitted.

On going on board the cutter 'Express Packet,' I found Monsieur L. Xavier Auguet de St. Sylvain, an agent of Don Carlos, and three Carlist officers; the cargo consisted of arms and ammunition. The cutter left Plymouth 11th March; but the promised fast-sailing vessel turned out to be a regular tub.

* See Vol. I., chapters xvii. xviii., of this work for some details concerning Baron de Haber, as the political and financial friend of Dom Miguel, and as having used every effort to prevent the destruction of so much port wine at Villa Nova, just before the raising of the siege of Oporto, August, 1833.

A vessel, the 'Maria Elizabeth,' was at Plymouth ready to start for the coast of Portugal, laden with arms. On board was a Señor Lavendero, late corregedor of Aranda, also about a dozen Carlist officers, sent from the Basque Provinces, who were on their way to join Don Carlos in the hope of going with him at once to Madrid, or of escorting him by land to Zumalacarregui. This vessel reached Viana the day before Napier took that place; it fell into the hands of the Cristinos, but the passengers escaped and got to Don Carlos.

We had two days' gale in the Bay of Biscay, and passed Cape Finisterre on the morning of the 15th. Early the next day we were off the Bayona Islands, near Vigo, with the wind at E.S.E., which was not favourable for us; still we made all the southing possible. During the night of the 16th and morning of the 17th we ran in for the land, and if our vessel had been anything of a sailer we should have fetched our port in safety before daylight; however, the breeze died away, and we were becalmed too far out at sea to take to such a dingy of a boat as we had on board. These were anxious moments, and to increase difficulties, we espied a large boat having a Spanish flag pulling towards us from the land, and as the morning mist cleared away we beheld to the south a large Spanish brig-of-war. On first seeing the boat we made preparations to contest its interference with us, but as soon as we discovered the proximity of the brig we deemed it advisable not to be precipitate. The boat came alongside, a Spanish officer asked the usual questions as to where we were from, where going, &c., when our skipper, Captain Tremayne, a fine old salt, replied, not exactly in the Castilian of Cervantes, "No entende' (entiendo)—"I don't understand you." At this our most

unpleasant visitors pulled to the brig, the southerly breezes being favourable for her approach to us, but too light for us to run away.

At noon the commander of the brig, with an armed boat's crew, came on board of us, demanding to know what the cargo consisted of, to which the skipper replied, "No entende." The Spanish officer sent for more men; when the hatches were broken open and it was seen that the upper part of the cargo consisted of cases of muskets. 'No entende" was of no avail now, and to finish us off Captain Cortina, of the 'Argos,' produced a letter from his Government, in which were the particulars of our vessel and cargo! "No entende" could go no further in the present state of affairs. I subsequently learnt that in consequence of the long detention of the Express Packet at the port of Plymouth, the Spanish consul there had notified his more than suspicions to the proper quarter, to be on the look-out for the cutter; thus the *mañana* or dilatory to-morrow system of the Carlist agents in London had lost us.*

We were taken possession of by the 'Argos,' when a shot was fired from a steamer in shore, which was soon in company. It was the 'Lord of the Isles,' belonging to the Pedroites. Her commander came on board, observing, if the 'Argos' did not take us, he would. So the 'Argos' took us in tow, and on the 18th, at 9 a.m., conveyed us into Vigo Bay.

Although we had a Spanish guard on board, we were not inactive during the night. I secreted my documents, and a stock of circular notes, in my boots. M. St. Sylvain's papers, also *other things* † considered judicious

* The value of the vessel and cargo amounted to about £13,000.

† Amongst these "other things," I subsequently learnt, were bundles

to be got rid of, were put into a well-weighted box, this into a bread bag, then watching for a good opportunity whilst the guard was jabbering all sorts of hard things against us, for they called us "Carlistas demonios," the bag was quietly dropped over the stern.

The passports of M. St. Sylvain, as M. Bernard, and my own were *en regle* for Portugal and Gibraltar; but the three Spanish officers, who had no passports, we dressed up as sailors, put their names down in the muster roll, and got them forward among the crew.

On the following day the authorities came off, making an examination of the cargo, passengers, and baggage, commanding us all to remain as prisoners on board until orders were received from General Morillo, the captain-general of Galicia. Our skipper and myself protested, through the English Vice-Consul (Don Leopoldo Menendez); M. St. Sylvain also, through the French Consul; and we found means to advise our friends in England of our unfortunate position.

At noon on the 20th H.M.S. 'Castor,' Lord John Hay, anchored, when our skipper hoisted his flag of distress, which being seen by our guards, one ran and cut the halyards. This caused a considerable skirmish on board. A signal was made to the 'Argos.' The captain came on board, and I think he rather admired our manœuvre, but told us, if we did not remain quiet, he would send us all to the castle. At 2 p.m. the English man-of-war, 'Orestes,' came in. Our guard was increased to fifty

of Carlist pamphlets, concocted by a certain José Lusuriaga. Lusuriaga subsequently arrested the Princess de Beira in London for charges and expenses on account of his pamphlets giving the Carlist version of political affairs. There was also another by M. St. Sylvain, "A True Statement of the Events which have taken place in Spain since the commencement of the King's illness at St. Ildefonso."

marines and sailors! Our "caboose" was hoisted into our only boat and taken alongside the 'Argos,' as it was feared we might set fire to and blow up our vessel. Could we have escaped, we would have blown her up.

On the 22nd Captain Cortina took our skipper on shore, and during the day passengers and crew were transferred, with carpet bags only, to the 'Argos,' where we found our captain, whom we now called "Old No Entende." He informed me that his papers had been sent to Madrid, with the history of our capture, cargo, &c., and that the whole of us were to be detained on board the 'Argos' until further orders. This looked bad; still, as many days must elapse before the papers could be conveyed to Madrid, commented on, action taken, and orders returned to Vigo, and as "time works wonders," I saw that the period would necessarily be retarded of my being marched out to receive "cuatro ballazos," on suspicion of being a Carlist.

I began to speak a little broken Spanish; indeed, it was remarked by the officers on board our prison ship that I had soon learnt much of their language, to which I replied that my grandmother was "un Español"—"he-Spaniard." I should have said, "Española"—"she-Spaniard." They smiled and said, "Es usted mui pieza"—"You are a knowing one"—which of course I pretended not to understand.

*Palm Sunday.*—The cutter was towed up to the powder magazine, there to deposit her cargo. The British flag was hauled down, and the "Skipper and his boy" were the only persons left on board her.

On the 25th passengers and crew were ordered on board the cutter and their luggage examined, but nothing of a very criminal nature was discovered. The three Spanish

officers * we had made part of the crew were, however, sent to the castle as Carlist prisoners. The following day we forwarded them blankets, rugs, and provisions. We could see them, with a telescope, in the embrasures of the batteries; but had no conclusive idea as to how they or ourselves would be ultimately disposed of.

M. St. Sylvain's position was very critical, for already a price had been set on his head. My own was not a pleasant one.

*Holy Thursday, 27th.*—I heard from the Vice-Consul that my passport had been sent to General Morillo, who was in the interior, and "who would decide as to my future proceedings." I did not admire this laconic and ambiguous style of treating a British subject. We now heard that Viana had been taken by the Pedroites, under Napier, on the 23rd, and that he was marching on Caminha. Could we but have slipped into Caminha on the 17th inst., we should have been long since travelling on Miguelite ground.

On the morning of the 29th the 'Argos' crossed yards, on the ending of Lent, and in the evening there was a lamp-light procession from the town to the Santa Clara Convent.

*April 1st.*—We began seriously to meditate how we were to escape. The 'Lightning' steamer, with Lord William Russell, late Minister at Lisbon, his wife, family, and Colonel Hare came in. We communicated

* They were Colonels Sans and Bengeochea, and Captain Llosellos. Sans had belonged to the Royal Guard. He escaped from Vigo after many months' detention, got to Germany and Holland, and then by Paris to the Basque Provinces. Bengeochea had been sent by Zumalacarregui to press upon Don Carlos to repair at once to the provinces. This officer and Llosellos I lost sight of, but I think they ultimately managed to escape from Vigo and join Don Carlos in the provinces.

with his lordship, requesting a passage to England. He replied, giving the faintest of diplomatic hopes. He sailed off and left us to our fate, but in a few hours had to return on account of bad weather.

*April 2nd.*—We heard firing on the Portuguese frontier in the south, when Lord Russell and Colonel Hare landed, and went to see what was up.

*4th.*—We heard that Admiral Napier had taken Valença, which was very bad news for us, for after we had managed to escape, we wanted to go in that direction.*

The authorities of Vigo now took our declarations; but they politely hinted they did not believe one word we said. I was suspicious that my companion in misfortune, M. St. Sylvain, was arranging to escape *alone*; so I told him, in a very serious and decided tone, that, whenever the escape might be effected, *both* of us would have to go, for I would not, if I could help it, be the bird to be left alone in the cage.†

We had made a friend of one of the authorities, and an old friend of mine had induced the governor to allow us to live on shore, so we put up at the Posada de los Vizcainos.

On the 10th, I had a long walk to ascertain somewhat of the geography of the country, particularly as to the direction of the roads and tracks towards the river Minho. The country was very mountainous, the rock was granite

* About the 23rd Napier took Caminha, then Viana, and afterwards Valença, and other places.—See vol. i., for details.

† I subsequently learnt that M. St. Sylvain had been sent from Portugal by Don Carlos to deliver autograph letters to the several Legitimist sovereigns, and return with their answers. He did not do this, but entrusted said Royal letters to a friend, busying himself *financiering* in Paris, but only got promises. He then went to London, *pretending* to acquiesce in Baron de Haber's views for raising money for Dom Miguel and Don Carlos and accepted 10,000 francs from the Baron to meet his expenses.

in a very decomposing state, and I thought the botanist might reap a good harvest in this region. From the heights the extensive and beautiful bay of Vigo was seen in perfection, with those natural defences, the Bayona Islands. It was under shelter of these that Admiral Sartorius so ably kept together Dom Pedro's generally mutinous fleet during the period of the winter gales, at a time, too, when cholera raged in his squadron. The history of the rich Spanish galleons sunk in the waters of the bay was also brought to mind.*

My French companion ferreted out a countryman of his, who knew a disaffected Cristino officer, now a Carlist, whose father lived at Salvatierra, on the right of the Minho, above the main road from Vigo to to Tuy. This officer was to act as guide, in making our escape from Vigo. As far as I could learn as regarded politics in this locality, had it not been for the Cristino troops hereabouts, the people would as soon have been Carlists as anything else. Carlism was strong among the ecclesiastics, for they, at least, looked upon Don Carlos and Dom Miguel as the true champions of their Church.

On the 12th we made final arrangements, our rendezvous for that night being the "Campo de Granada," where horses

* A great quantity of treasure is believed to have been lost in the Spanish galleons sunk by the English and Dutch in Vigo harbour in 1701. The value of the twenty-two galleons was computed at twenty million pieces of eight in gold and silver; merchandise, twenty millions more. Fourteen millions were saved by the Spaniards; the rest "was either taken by the English and Dutch, *or* left in the galleons which were sunk or burnt." In 1825 and 1859 attempts were made to get at the treasure. In 1869 the "Galleon Treasure Venture Company" was started in London; capital £25,000. I was lately informed that investigations were made some years since, and, from documents found in the cathedral of Tuy, a few miles south of Vigo, it was stated "that many carts had been employed at the time to take the galleon treasure from Vigo," in all probability before the ships were sunk.

were to be in readiness for our escape. Eight p.m. arrived; M. St. Sylvain stole on board the cutter for his saddle, a move which I very much opposed. I got my valise to the Frenchman's house, and it was here St. Sylvain was to come. Half-past nine arrived—our Spanish officer would wait no longer, when I accompanied him to the rendezvous, where we found some bare-backed ponies. The time passed heavily waiting for my companion, and our guides, seeing midnight approach, wished to abandon the affair, or they would have taken me onwards. To this I did not agree, and begged of the officer, for the duty he owed to his king (Don Carlos), &c., &c., to wait a little longer.

It was past midnight when we heard footsteps—they were those of my long-looked-for companion, with a man carrying his valise.

He flew into a violent passion with us for not waiting for him in the town, and used very hard words indeed to me. I replied, in a firm tone, that the present were most precious moments, and not to be wasted in vapouring; that if he required any satisfaction from me, I would give it him, in any shape he pleased, on the other side of the Minho, a little later in the day. I laid hold of the halter of my gallego pony, jumped on his bare back, placed my valise in front, and gave the order to march, keeping a bright look-out.

In the outskirts of Porriño we fell in with a patrol of two men, who called out, "Quien vive?"—"Who goes there?" "Gente de paz"—"People of peace," was our reply. "Alto"—"Stop," said they; an order which we did not obey, but pushed on briskly. We looked too many for the patrol, and it being dark they took us for a band of smugglers.

Early on the morning of the 13th we got to the farm of Salvatierra, where we found half-a-dozen Carlists, including a priest, all armed with muskets, fowling-pieces, pistols, daggers, and swords.

I gave half a dubloon to be ferried over the river Minho to the landing-place of Moncão with our party; and before we could get our ponies over—a second operation—we had been noticed by a Cristino frontier guard in advance of Tuy (opposite to Valença), then in the hands of the Pedroites. But, what with promises, threats, and money, we got the animals across.* Moncão had already hoisted the flag of Donna Maria, so we had to be careful.

I now told M. St. Sylvain that I was ready to give him any satisfaction he pleased, but before we went seriously to work, I would hand my despatches to the priest, in case I fell; moreover, I should first like to hear his reasons for not joining us at the appointed hour in the town, and, not finding us there, for not coming at once to the Campo de Granada? He replied that he got his saddle and his luggage safe on shore, but, not meeting us there, began his march up the ravines in search of us, and not finding us, he went back to the town to his French friend, hoping, through him, to find us. He even went to the hotel, and discovered that suspicion was already excited that we were off. He escaped by a miracle, and got a man to carry his valise to where he fell in with us. My reply, but in a kind tone, to all this was—"Why the d——l did you not come on straight to the Campo de Grenada?" —a spot well known to every child in Vigo, and which was the place of rendezvous for the horses. We growled at each other, but we did not fight. However, from that

* I afterwards heard that the boatman who had ferried us across had been shot by the Spanish authorities.

period, and for years afterwards, we were often opposed to each other, and, although pulling in the same boat, one was occasionally rowing with all his might to go ahead, the other backing water. I disliked him very much, and I suppose there was no love on his part for me. His idea of diplomacy was too much of the tortuous for me.

## CHAPTER III.

Mongão; the start—Short commons—Melgagão, my companion, too inventive on politics—Rodil on our left, Pedroites on our right; delicate steering required—Bad tracks—Mountains of Pineda—Shuaso; have to retreat—Horrid tracks—Barcia, the dirtiest place in the world—Heavy mountain tracks—Lindozo, Donna Maria's flag just hoisted—Enter Spain; rain and cold—Villa da Viega just declared for Donna Maria; escape to the mountains—Guides run away—Pedroites approach; we retire into a wood—Fall in with retreating Miguelites—Outeiro; found Governor of Viana retreating—Miguelites had shaved their beards off, a bad sign—Heard vivas for Donna Maria; prepare for the worst—Ancians on the Douro; nearly made prisoners; cross the Douro; Villa-Flor had just passed—Cardozo, the Miguelite general, not far off; Don Carlos and Dom Miguel *somewhere* south—Come up with Cardozo's pickets; he had been beaten by the Pedroites; his troops dispirited—English deserters—Don Carlos had been nearly caught by Rodil—False hopes held out to the Miguelites—Reflections, unfavourable for Dom Miguel—Don Carlos might be near Abrantes—Cross the Estrella mountains——Fundão; Don Carlos had lately slept there flying from Rodil—The newly married fidalgo forced to guide us; arrive at Abrantes on the Tagus; Don Carlos and followers on the other side.

MONÇÃO was formerly a strong frontier town and celebrated for its heroic resistance against the Spaniards in 1658. The name of Helena Pires is particularly recorded as having distinguished herself. As our saddles had been left behind, we purchased "alabardas" or packs, having a most uncomfortable and tiring seat. We arranged that Don Pedro Gillien, who was on horseback, should go ahead; then the Carlist officers, who were on foot; and that M. St. Sylvain and myself, with the priest between us, he armed with a carbine, should bring up the rear. We

left Moncão at 2 p.m., and when fairly on the road, and out of Pedroite hearing, our party became so inspirited as to their ultimate success, that they gave loud and prolonged vivas for the "santa causa."

We arrived at night-fall at Melgaço, a walled town, having travelled nine miles up the Minho, poor human nature being kept alive during the day with *pão broa*—maize-bread, and *vinho verde*—new and very poor stuff of wine.

Being now in Dom Miguel's territory, and seeing that we were going to His Majesty of Portugal and His Majesty of Spain, the Juiz da Fora, as a matter of course, had to provide quarters for us. My French companion assured his hearers that Dom Miguel was on the eve of receiving substantial help from the Northern powers, that he would soon be again in Lisbon, and that all the *Judios*—Jews, meaning Pedroites, who were also abominable freemasons, would be sent to h—ll. Perceiving that some of our listeners did not quite acquiesce in these views, I hinted to my companion to draw rather more mildly on his imagination, altering Lord Bacon's motto into "*Prudentia potentia est*," considering that the Pedroites had just taken Caminha, Viana, Valença, and other places, not very distant in our rear.

The next day, the 14th, we found that our foot companions would not be able to keep up with us, so advised them to come on more leisurely, as the country generally we should have to travel over, we were informed, was very mountainous. We did not know exactly what direction to take, but we knew that our general course should be south, to keep out of the way of the Pedroites on our right, and the Spanish troops on our left, under Rodil and other generals, who were advancing into Portuguese territory with con-

siderable forces; also that many of the villages and towns we must pass by or through might already have declared for Donna Maria II. Our party now consisted of St. Sylvain and myself as envoys, Dom Pedro Gillien, the Carlist officer, and the priest. Sometimes we had as many as four hired guides, who went ahead, or diagonally when we thought we were approaching a suspicious locality, in which case the road had to be left and refuge taken in the mountains. My companion was returning to Don Carlos with favourable news from the Basque Provinces, and I had important despatches for Don Carlos and Dom Miguel.

We left early in the morning, and by a very hilly and broken road of twelve miles arrived at Castro, just within the Spanish frontier, by noon, where upon some granite peaks stood the ruins of an old Moorish castle. Here we discovered that we were closely surrounded by enemies. Not to be standing still we pushed across the mountains of our lady of Pineda, dropping into the valley of the same name, in which there is a famous sanctuary, visited at certain periods and feasts celebrated by the faithful. The locality is romantic, with precipitous dells in the granite mountains, and here and there interesting vegetation. This sanctuary is composed of some twenty small chapels, wherein the life of Christ is represented by a series of wax figures. I thought that, by having a few batteries placed in certain positions, this pass into and out of Spain could be defended by a very few men.

Twelve miles further brought us to Shuaso. My companion had the bump of prudence lamentably undeveloped, and his idea of going ahead outdid a Yankee's. In the first place he would override, and thus fatigue his horse, so that, had we been pursued, we should soon have been overtaken and made prisoners. In this instance he had

pushed on rapidly, and, on getting to the outskirts of the town, he found it occupied by Pedroite troops. Had one of our guides been sent forward, we should have been saved an unpleasantly exciting roundabout march to Flervael. It was when near that village, and about to ford the stream which runs into the river Lima, that a little girl came in haste, telling us on no account to ford; if we did, we should meet a considerable Pedroite force; moreover, that only half-an-hour before some Pedroites had crossed the ford on their way to Lindozo, a fortified place six miles off.

Our route was in that direction, so we had to fall back somewhat, resting our animals awhile in the mountains, until night came on. We then stole through a small village, having first obtained some most barbarous-looking guides, thanks to the priest of the place.

The night was pitch dark and our track was far from the road—over mountains, through ponds, up and down rivulets, so that our poor beasts began to require the spur —it was a severe night indeed. At last we got stealthily into Barcia, making at once for the house of the cura. I had seen some of the most wretched Indian wigwams in the New World, but the "casa del cura" of Barcia was worse, with its filth, stench, and misery multiplied to any amount; and there the cura and a boy, his sacristan, lay in an unwieldy wooden bin, covered with the dirtiest rags imaginable. There was no difficulty in supposing there was an abundance of fleas, bugs, &c., &c., in that awful dormitory. We first looked after our horses, who, poor things, could only get a few stunted Indian corn leaves to nibble at. Our meal was soon prepared, consisting of a piece of boiled, fat, rusty bacon, and maize bread. We tried to gulp down a few morsels, but could not; so

we threw ourselves on the ground in the hope of a few hours' sleep. However, that dream of bliss was impossible, for now myriads of fleas began to persecute us most perseveringly. "Noche de horrores"—night of horrors—we ejaculated, during the hours of darkness.*

At daylight on the 15th we saddled up, and were glad indeed to leave Barcia. Crossing the stream we travelled over twelve miles of heavy mountain tracks covered with prickly bushes, ofttimes having to drag our horses after us up the steeper places. We crossed the river Lima in sight of the town of Lindozo to our right, and where the Pedroites had just hoisted the blue and white flag of Donna Maria. We were now obliged to keep at some distance from roads and tracks, when we came to the summits of high mountains called the Raya, or frontier, and now had to travel for some distance in Spain. It was bitterly cold, raining in torrents, and no shelter. At night we came to the baths of Las Caldas, pushing on three miles further to Villa da Viega, which had declared for Donna Maria. At once we had to relinquish the road, crossing a ridge of mountains to the north; a track of six miles brought us late at night to El Ermira, where we obtained some foul eggs fried in rancid oil, maize bread,

* The fleas of all nations were at Tiberias. The smug, steady, importunate flea from Holywell Street—the pert, jumping "puce" from hungry France—the wary, watchful "pulce" with his poisoned stiletto—the vengeful "pulga" of Castile, with his ugly knife—the German "floh" with his knife and fork, insatiate, not rising from table—whole swarms from all the Russias, and Asiatic hordes innumerable—all of these were there, and all rejoiced in one great international feast. After passing a night with such, you are glad to pick up the wretched remains of your body long before morning dawns. Your skin is scorched—your temples throb—your lips feel withered and dried—your burning eye-balls are screwed inwards against the brain. You have no hope but in the saddle and the freshness of the morning air.—"Eöthen," p. 172.

and some wine; but we had a few hours of a refreshing sleep.

Next morning, the 16th, at daybreak, we found our guides had left us to what they very naturally concluded no very propitious fate. With great difficulty we procured an old man to go onwards with us, if only for a short distance. We had not proceeded far before we caught sight of a body of Pedroite soldiery coming towards us; we retreated into a wood on our left and let them pass. Resuming our journey, at a turn in the road we fell in with a company of Miguelite Volunteers, retreating from before the Pedroites who had just entered a town south of us on the road between Braga and Chaves. Where these volunteers were going they did not themselves know. We continued eight miles in a drenching rain to Ruviães, on the road to Chaves, where we had to put up to shoe our horses; it would have been satisfactory could we have re-shod ourselves, for what with ascending and descending the steep parts of mountains we had been foot-sore, even to blisters. We started again, scarcely knowing which way to go; our idea being to get in advance of the Pedroite troops, and then cross the Douro. Our direction was about E.N.E. some twelve miles; cautiously passing by Venda Nova, Venda da Serra, the heights of Soutello, and crossing a long wooden bridge, where much cattle was grazing in the plains, we arrived at Outeiro, perched on a mountain-peak. Here we found, in a manner secreted, the governor of Viana, his family, and several Miguelite officers, the latter having shaved off their beards and moustaches, which was a bad sign; for we learnt that the Miguelites had let their beards grow during the present war, and had sworn by the said appendages not to shave until they had driven Dom Pedro and his followers

from the soil they had invaded. They told us that they considered Dom Miguel was about lost, and where to go they knew not; the surrounding towns and villages were in the hands of the enemy, and that very day some of their party had tried to get towards the Douro, but had failed. This was melancholy information for us, but *en avant* was our cry. It was a sorry scene; they shed tears as to the fate of their country, their King, Dom Miguel, for themselves and their families. Nothing we could communicate gave them any consolation, and they said at parting, "God bless you! remember us to our King!"

Although late at night we had to creep about the place with great caution, to get food for ourselves and forage for our animals, as, with the present favourable position of the Liberal cause, the inhabitants of Outerio were ready to viva for Donna Maria.

At 3 a.m. on the 17th we started in an easterly direction by a long descent, and just before entering Fayoës heard vivas by her troops for Donna Maria II. We could not retreat with safety, but crossed the Tamega by the "bridge of sixteen arches, of Roman foundation," and then got under cover of a neighbouring wood. We first looked at our arms, which were all right; divided our ready money; and prepared to kill our horses in the event of an attack, become infantry, and scramble off over the mountains. We lay low and the enemy passed us, making their way to Outeiro. We breathed rather more freely, and progressed onwards fifteen miles to Las Quintas, where we had a meal in comparative quietude. We had now better roads, but the people were fast becoming Pedroites. Passing the villages of Villadão, Rio Torto, Lamas d'Ollo, and Palheiras, we got to Loivas, a

journey of twelve miles from Las Quintas, where we slept and got a good bed. On our road during the day we met many Miguelite militia officers who had been trying to get to Dom Miguel, but could not; they were now retiring to their homes, fearing that their royal master's game was nearly played out.

Started early the next morning, the 18th, for Santa Maria de Emes, seven miles off. Here St. Sylvain had to get rid of his used-up pony, which he had intended as a present to Don Carlos' eldest son, and changed it for a macho (he-mule), which turned out to be a regular brute. Pushed on by Villaboas, nine miles to Junqueira, thence to Thales, twelve miles further, near which, on the summit of the mountains forming the northern side of the Douro, was Anciãns, where we had hoped to have rested awhile; however, we found the inhabitants rank Pedroites, and when they learned we were not on their side of politics, they refused us a meal or food for our animals. They seriously deliberated on making us prisoners, and besieged us for some time in a barn, and, had it not been for the cura of the village, we must have surrendered. The cura took us to his house at midnight, and gave us a supper, when we paid a couple of lads most liberally to be our guides, and made off.

By six in the morning of the 19th, we got to the Quinta of Comparado on the Douro, where we pulled up to refresh. In a few minutes we beheld armed people from Anciãns coming towards us with the intention of cutting off our passage across the Douro. This was really to be a rapid retreat, perhaps for our lives, and in face of the enemy; so not a moment was to be lost. Helter-skelter we got to the river side, and most providentially found an empty wine barge there. We ferried ourselves across the

far-famed river Douro, leaving S. Joã Pesqueira to our right. We could now continue our journey with a little more security, which we did at a smart pace. We passed the ruins of the old Moorish castle of Marvão. Hereabouts we heard that the Pedroite general, Villa-Flor, Duke of Terceira, had just passed with a division from Torre de Moncorvo to Lamego, and could plainly see the foot-prints of his soldiery—pleasant signs! Hard by a fidalgo, with his servant, met us, asking if we belonged to "O Senhor Duque de Terceira's staff?"—which we thought it prudent to answer in the affirmative. The fidalgo informed us that he was on his way to pay his respects to the "Duque" (which we did not believe), that his house was not far off, and he hoped we would stop and refresh ourselves. He also told us that a division of the Miguelite army was not far off, and that Don Carlos was with it. This was the first information we had had of the comparative whereabouts of the Royal Spanish fugitive.

After we had got rid of the fidalgo we pushed on smartly, only stopping here and there for a few minutes to ask questions of Miguelite partizans, who were retreating and in great consternation. A journey of twenty miles, passing the villages of Ponte Arcada and Velloso, brought us to Rio Mel, a large farm three miles from Trancoso. We had a rest at Rio Mel, and all we could get for our meal was a bit of salt bacon.

On Sunday morning, the 20th, we trotted on to the fortified town of Trancoso. Each house looked a very castle of strength, and there was a melancholy grandeur about the place. Episodes of early times, of the Moors, of the separation of Portugal from Spain, of civil wars, could easily be called up at sight of such a spot. However, the

present inhabitants contrasted poorly with the idea of the chivalric soldiers of other times.* Such was the poverty of Trancoso, that it was with the greatest difficulty I could obtain change for a dubloon, Here we heard that Dom Miguel's general, José Cardozo, was with his division at Celorico, twelve miles off; that Dom Miguel was somewhere to the south, and we could easily suppose that Don Carlos was in his vicinity.

We had a hurried meal on horseback, of maize bread and new wine; pushed again onwards, and soon came upon Cardozo's advanced pickets, and were at once escorted to the general, whom we found falling back upon Santarem, having lately been roughly handled by the Pedroites at S. Thyrso, Lixia, and Amarante, and who appeared to be still closely pursuing him. The troops were in a dispirited state. Here were some Pedroite prisoners in chains. It made us shudder to see the misery and emaciated state of these poor fellows. There were also about a dozen English (some with their wives) who had deserted from the Pedroites at Oporto, when, as they said, they were in a starving condition. They did not appear to have been well received, and, under present circumstances, were desired to leave, being advised to return to their own country *viâ* Spain, which they seemed to prefer, than go to the coast of Portugal.

We learnt that Don Carlos had retreated from Almeida, to the east of us, about the 12th inst., and was wandering,

* "Trancoso, a very ancient town, retains its ruinous walls and fifteen towers. It is celebrated for the victory gained by Affonso Henriques over Albucazan, King of Badajos, and still more so for the defeat of a Spanish army in 1385. This was the birthplace of the famous cobbler, Bandarra, whose prophecies and ballads contributed so much to the spread of Sebastianism"—Ford's Handbook.

no one could exactly tell where; that he had been to the Spanish frontier, and even crossed it, and had nearly been taken prisoner by General Rodil, who was in command of a considerable division on the frontier. Had Don Carlos been taken at this juncture, the civil war in Spain would have been soon finished, as far as Don Carlos was concerned; and, had the Madrid Government promised not to upset entirely the "fueros," or rights of the Basque Provinces, the inhabitants there would, after a time, have seen that by peace much was to be gained, but by such a war as this all was to be lost.

We did not know which road to take, and as General Cardozo was moving towards Coimbra, we considered it as well to keep with him awhile.

We were early, on the 21st, on the march from Celorico. There was a large quantity of bluster about Cardozo, who spoke in disparaging terms of the Pedroite troops; but it did not require much penetration to perceive that he was not quite sure of the truth of his assertions, or why was he falling back, or rather retreating. There were individuals who did their best to give hope to the soldiery and people, by saying that when affairs would be in the most critical state, a miracle would be performed! Others reported that O Senhor Elliot, Dom Miguel's new Admiral, was on his way from England with a fleet, including steamers, and would shortly demolish Dom Pedro's and send Napier to blazes! A poor old cura, who was listening to these big sayings, shed tears of joy, and doubted not that Providence would now aid the battles of their beloved King, Dom Miguel. He might just as well have invoked the aid of the lost King Sebastian.*

* There were four false Sebastians. Sebastian, King of Portugal, was killed in Africa in 1578, and his body never found. The first false one

However, I positively knew that the wood for this so grandiloquently announced new Miguelite fleet was not yet grown, nor the men born to man it. Elliot may have been then on his way to Portugal, but he had not even a dingy under his command; and although a Miguelite loan had been opened in Paris, it was mainly patronized by French Legitimists. I was also well aware that the English (that is, when the Tories were not in power) and French Governments were unfavourable both to Dom Miguel and Don Carlos, and that there was every likelihood of an alliance being shortly made between England and France with the Governments of Donna Maria and Doña Isabella. Then, however much the Northern powers sympathized with Don Carlos and Dom Miguel, on the score of legitimacy and politics, they would hesitate, in the face of France, England, and the rising spirit of Liberalism in the Peninsula, to come to the rescue of Absolutism.

I could not but reflect upon the more prominent facts connected with the war—that when Dom Pedro came before Oporto with less than 8000 men, that city had a garrison of 30,000, supported by 50,000 as a reserve. Oporto had successfully stood a rigorous siege of twelve months. Dom Miguel had lost his fleet, and the Liberal flag of Donna Maria II. had long floated over the towers of Lisbon. I came also to the conclusion that Dom Miguel's army was worn out, that it, and his councils, under such extraordinary and depress-

appeared in 1584; he escaped to France, and was heard of no more. The second was named Matheus Alvarez; he was hanged and quartered. The third appeared in 1594 in Spain—Gabriel de Espinosa; he was executed. The fourth was Maro Tulio, a Calabrian; he made his appearance at Venice in 1598; he was hanged and quartered in S. Lucar in 1603. In 1838 emissaries of King Sebastian appeared in Pernambuco, Brazil.

ing circumstances, had been and were directed by the weakest and most irrational of advisers.

It was now too late for Dom Miguel to change his old system of politics, for the time had passed when he might have offered to the Portuguese a comparatively rational form of government, which appeared to be the general wish of all thinking people; in which case, although he would have had hard work to conciliate or to put down such Liberals as Saldanha, Villa-Flor, and others of their stamp, there would have been the possibility of his keeping the throne.

Dom Pedro's Portuguese soldiers were rather picked men and his officers good. Latterly he had been reinforced with more English, Irish, Scotch, French, Italians, and a sprinkling from other nations. His fleet was almost entirely composed of Englishmen. One of his Admirals had been the sagacious and politic Sartorius, and latterly he had obtained Napier to finish naval affairs with the Miguelites. Dom Pedro felt that the then Liberal Governments of England and France were favourable to him, consequently he could nearly always get money, at a price, from London and Paris. He had, moreover, bravely defended Oporto during a lengthy siege, and was now in Lisbon as Regent for his daughter, Donna Maria II.

With such musings as these, on a road of twelve miles, passing through some villages, we got to Vinho, where we heard that Don Carlos might be found at Abrantes on the Tagus, so at once leaving Cardozo's division, we crossed one of the ranges of the great mountain-knot of Estrella,* when we saw snow on the more

* Serra da Estrella, the Roman *Herminius Mons*, the backbone of Portugal. Canariz, its highest peak, is 7500 feet above the level of the sea.

elevated peaks, and some wild rabbits crossed our path. I was rather disappointed in not being able to go on to Coimbra, where I had promised myself, at all events, a slight exploration of so classic a spot. Twelve miles further we came to Manteigas, in a very deep ravine, through which runs the rapid Zezere. Here there are Caldas, or hot baths containing sulphur, much resorted to in summer. The hills and mountains were covered with forests of chestnut trees, and altogether it was an interesting sort of country. We made for the house of the Juiz da Fora, requesting his hospitality. He was just about to throw off his allegiance to Dom Miguel, but as "Royal Commissioners" from ——— and ———, we insisted on his providing us a billet, which he did with a bad grace. There was no doubt that the people generally in the interior of Portugal were for Dom Miguel. But the better-informed knew Dom Pedro's arms had been successful, and, as a matter-of-course, for self-preservation, were careful as to how they expressed themselves politically, and had to be in readiness, when a division of the Pedroite army came into their vicinity, to viva for Donna Maria II.

We now heard that General Rodil had shot some of Don Carlos' servants a few days back on the Spanish frontier. It was pretty well-known that Rodil did not stand on ceremony with those he considered not of his party.

On the morning of the 22nd, after six miles of very hilly and zig-zag tracks, we came to a small village, where we were informed that we must give the next place, Covilhãa, on our route a wide berth, as the inhabitants had unfurled the flag of revolt, and that probably some of Rodil's troops were there. This we did, and twelve miles

onwards brought us to Fundão, where we found the authorities very shy in assisting us to food or in giving us information; so we pushed through this place to an estalagem, or road-side inn, some distance off, to rest ourselves and our animals. We learnt that Don Carlos and his family, flying from before Rodil, had slept here on the 15th.

My pony was by this time on his last legs, so lame he could proceed no further, and I was grieved to think that I must part with him; we had become attached to each other, and I always looked after him before myself on the score of food. At this inn there were two itinerant gipsy tinkers and lamp-menders, one a Spaniard, the other an Italian. They had a fine macho (mule), and were not unwilling to part with it; so, after the necessary higgling, each praising his respective animal considerably above its value, taking also into consideration mutual affection, the "swop" took place by my jingling in my hands thirty cruzados novos—about £3 10s.—and by the gipsy saying, "Venga la jaca con la plata, Señorito, y toma el macho" —"Hand over the pony and the money, young gentleman, and the macho is yours."

We now left the road, and passing at some distance from Atayala got to Solheira, some six miles. As usual we went to the Juiz da Fora, who as yet had not become contaminated with Pedroism, so we obtained a fair billet for the night.

The people of this village were a most aboriginal set of folks, and looked like wild Indians, particularly as far as colour was concerned; doubtless the Moorish element was preponderant; maybe soap and water would have whitened them a bit. Their ideas were of the dark ages period, their style of dress and surroundings were of the most

antiquated character, and they swore by the "Santa Religião é Nosso Ré Dom Miguel."

In the morning of the 23rd we found our Carlist friend, Gillien, who had come with us from Salvatierra, having walked much of the way, so foot-sore that a few days' rest was absolutely necessary; as to the priest he was fast asleep, so we left him to his slumbers. Saddling-up, six miles of good road brought us to Tinalha; eighteen more, passing Juncal, and we arrived at Sobreira Formosa. We had gone this day through a dry sort of country containing forests of cork trees. Our guide was used up, and we had to hunt up another. The place was almost abandoned, and after much search we laid hands on a young man who was skulking off; he shouted most lustily that he was a Fidalgo, and could not be pressed into any sort of service. We asked him, rather seriously, if he, as a Fidalgo, acknowledged Dom Miguel as his king, to which he replied in the affirmative; the sentence was, "Now, Senhor Fidalgo, you will have the goodness to show your devotion to your king by being our guide to the next town." At this he bellowed like a great calf, protesting he would not be our guide, he was only just married, and that these were dangerous times to leave one's wife. At this his dark-eyed bride made her appearance, supplicating us, with tearful eyes, and by the love we had for our wives (I was a bachelor), not to press O Senhor Dom Affonso Pedro Maria, &c., &c., into our service. We were inexorable: we were "Royal Commissioners," and a guide we must have. The young wife, crying and sobbing, went for a "cabalgadura," which I supposed would be a good horse; however, after a while she returned dragging a donkey. I thought the kissing and hugging would never be over, and suggested to my companion to shout out a

good gruff "Vamos, vamos, vamos!" (let's get along). During a three leagues' ride to As Cardigas our Fidalgo repeatedly adverted to our promise to dismiss him on arriving there, but on getting to Ás Cardigas, we could not, for love, money, or persuasion, obtain anyone to go on with us; so we told our Fidalgo he must still be our guide. He began to howl, cry, and talk of the wife he had left behind him; he tried to give us the slip, but we caught him, and made him take us to Abrantes.

Travelling all night, at times through a hilly country, we crossed the main road from Lisbon to Castello Branco, through the villages of Amendoa and Sardoal (where Don Carlos and his family had slept on the 17th inst.), at daybreak got to the heights overlooking Abrantes, on the Tagus, reaching the city at noon. Riding to the principal inn, our first operation was to have a good wash and shave; and whilst examining my features, state of my hair, &c., &c., it was very visible that, only since the 11th of March, when I had left England, my personal appearance had not been improved; and I certainly had lost some pounds in weight by the severe training I had undergone.

We had now the best breakfast that could be procured, and were much the better for it.

Abrantes at this moment was wretchedly fortified, and had a poor garrison; its governor was a brother of the General Cardozo we had fallen in with at Celorico. The city was in a filthy state, and, doubtless, there was much disease there.

We learnt that the Bishop of Leon, Don Carlos' minister, was on the opposite side of the river, at the Rocio, and that his royal master was at Chamusca, a few miles down the Tagus.

## CHAPTER IV.

Cross the Tagus—Interview with Bishop of Leon—Don Carlos at Chamusca; recommended to push on to Madrid or go to the Basque Provinces—Don Carlos not the man for the position—His late escape from Rodil—Camarillas in the 'Corte'—Santarem besieged by Pedroites—Dom Miguel; my answers not to his liking—Cholera and wounded—Don Carlos comes in a hurry to Santarem—I accompany Don Carlos to Chamusca—Interview with him—South American Republics—"Veremos" and "Mañana"—The Cura Merino—Moreno Minister of War—Dom Miguel has private meetings with Don Carlos—Pedroites take Coimbra—Rodil after Don Carlos—Dom Miguel ill—Don Carlos sad—Miguelite artillery retreating—Receive my dispatches from the Bishop—Don Carlos will join Zumalacarregui in the Basque Provinces—Pedroite successes—Santarem a charnel-house; cholera—Don Carlos retreats to Almerim; he sends St. Sylvain to Lisbon to make arrangements for his leaving Portugal—Dom Miguel cannot hold out much longer—Get my despatches—I cross the Tagus—Robbed by Brigands—Lisbon—Final Battle of Acebeira, 16th May—Dom Pedro in Santarem—Dom Miguel retreats to Evora—Author sails for England.

We were ferried across the Tagus to the Rocio village, which was crammed with Carlists, and soon made out the whereabouts of the Bishop of Leon. We found him walking in the garden of his quarters reading his prayers. On our announcement, St. Sylvain, who was a Roman Catholic, went on his knees and received the episcopal benediction, then threw himself into the Bishop's arms. I was introduced, when the prelate shook hands, congratulating me on my safe arrival.

On the morning of the 25th, at 5 a.m., I got to Chamusca, three leagues down the river, to Don Carlos' head-

quarters and proceeded to extricate the despatches from my boots, giving them a little fresh air. After mass I was presented by the Chamberlain, D. José Sacanell, to Don Carlos, his consort, Doña Francisca, their children, the Infantes Carlos, Fernando, and Juan; also to the Princess of Beira. Don Carlos was called by his followers "The King;" his wife, "the Queen;" and the Infante Carlos, "the Prince of Asturias." * I then had a private audience with Don Carlos.

I had first to give details of my late escape and adventures, repeatedly interrupted by "Poor fellow; God will repay you!" then my news as to the state of political opinion from Vigo onwards, which I did not consider very satisfactory, either for Don Carlos or his brother-in-law, Dom Miguel. Then, as to views entertained by the French and English Governments, I told Don Carlos, that Louis Philippe would temporise, but if England went into the question—for the Whigs were in power—she would make a serious business of it, and certainly not in his favour.

I now presented my despatches from ——, —— to Don Carlos. He smiled when he heard how they had

* Don Carlos was the second son of Charles IV. of Spain; born the 29th March, 1788. His partizans make him ascend the throne of Spain the 29th September, 1833, the day of the death of his brother Ferdinand VII. Don Carlos married the 29th September, 1816, the Infanta of Portugal, Francisca d'Assis, daughter of King John VI., and sister of Dom Miguel. The issue of this marriage was:—

1. The Infante Charles Louis-Maria, born 31st January, 1818.
2. The Infante John Charles-Maria, born 15th May, 1822.
3. The Infante Ferdinand-Maria, born 13th October, 1824.

The Princess of Beira was the Infanta Maria Theresa, daughter of John VI. of Portugal (sister to the wife of Don Carlos), born 29th April, 1793, widow of the Infante Don Pedro, cousin of Don Carlos, and mother of Don Sebastian, who was born 4th November, 1811.

been conveyed, and he could see, from the not very cleanly state of the envelopes, the difficulties they had been in. These despatches were from very great personages on the Continent, giving their views as to what Don Carlos might do, in case he found it impracticable to enter Spain from Portugal with a sufficient force, and fight his way to Madrid, and requesting that his answers might be sent by me.

I may here at once state that Don Carlos was recommended, in case he could not march boldly, and with sufficient force, on Madrid, to make the best of his way to the Basque Provinces, which were entirely in his favour; also that funds would not be wanting to support his operations. Whilst Don Carlos was reading the despatches, when he came to any passage he liked, he nodded his head, uttering a quiet "Bien, bien, bien!" (good, good, good!); but when a paragraph appeared not to his taste, he looked thoughtful. After a lengthened interview, it was arranged that he would give me a letter to the Bishop of Leon, who was his "Ministro Universal," or sole minister, to take his views on the matters contained in the despatches.

I informed Don Carlos that I had despatches for Dom Miguel, and, with his permission, I would go at once to Santarem, deliver them, and return to Chamusca.

My impression of Don Carlos at the interview was, that he was most nervously careful in his proceedings; also that he had his own peculiar plans, and his idea of the manner in which they ought to be carried out. From other interviews I found he always gave attentive ear to those who could give him information, but generally waited to the very last moment (often when too late) to put any matter into execution. It must be confessed that in many cases

his course of action had to be guardedly governed by the most trying and painful circumstances. He had been for some time in the strangest political position imaginable, and he did not improve it by not making more forcible protests and taking the opinion of the whole of Spain *boldly*, particularly when his brother Ferdinand VII. altered the law against his succession in March, 1830. Had he done so, and at the same time offered guarantees for a form of government suited to the times, it has been thought, by those most competent to judge, that on the death of Ferdinand he would have succeeded him.

During the afternoon of this day, the "Queen" sent for me, to whom I had to recount my late adventures. She spoke feelingly of the late rapid retreat and escape from Rodil, and, from what fell from her and her suite, I collected that Don Carlos had been to the frontier, in the hope that Rodil and his division would pass over to him; but Rodil had given his word to Ferdinand VII. to fight for Isabella, and he kept his word. On the 14th (April), Don Carlos and his family, being at La Guarda, narrowly escaped his clutches by decamping in the night.* It was believed that Rodil would have made short work with the royal fugitives had they become his prisoners. They lost their carriages, carts containing plate, baggage, two print-

* Late in the evening, as the Royal family were sitting down to supper, it was announced that the Cristinos were only three leagues distant. Don Carlos said, "Let us depart, our implacable enemies are determined to pursue us to death." On the 15th they were at Fundao. The escort comprised about 600 Spaniards, mostly officers, 80 of whom only were mounted, and some 50 Portuguese horse. On the night of the 16th they were at Sobreira. On the afternoon of the 17th, they rested at San Domingo, where Don Carlos' wife had to turn cook, as her attendants were worn out. They slept at Sardoal, and the next day, the 18th, crossed the Tagus, going to Chamusca.—Walton's "Revolutions of Spain," vol. ii. p. 119.

ing machines, correspondence, &c.; not a change of clothes remained to them. They got to Chamusca on the 18th. Rodil shot three of Don Carlos' servants and five horsemen.

I found a large black silk mantilla on the road from the Rocio to Chamusca, and asked if I could offer it to any lady. It was accepted.

I soon discovered there was a feud between the Princess of Beira and the Bishop of Leon; indeed it was whispered that the Princess and her sister were the only *men* of the family, for they had a decision of character which Don Carlos had not.

Don Carlos had much faith in the Princess's view of affairs, but at this moment she would give no opinion, and kept herself much to her apartments, and declared she would not be an adviser whilst the Bishop of Leon was "Ministro Universal."

On the evening of the 25th, I journeyed down the banks of the river, three leagues to Almerim, and crossed over to Santarem, being also the bearer of a letter from the Princess of Beira to her brother Dom Miguel.

The next morning I sought Dom Miguel's secretary, Juan Gaudencio Torres, acquainting him that I had despatches for Dom Miguel which I was instructed to place in his own hands. I was at once conducted to him, and we were left alone. I handed him my despatches, for which he gave me his thanks. At this interview I could perceive he had a look of great energy, and, when roused, I had no doubt he could show a temper. He read the despatches quickly, made no comments, thanked me repeatedly for having been the bearer of them, and said that I should have answers in a few days, and as he was going to Chamusca, we should see each other there. He asked

me several questions as to how England and France were affected towards him. I replied, "Not favourably." And the information I gave him of what I had seen and heard since leaving Vigo, particularly the retreat of the governor of Vianna, and the falling back of Cardozo, must have been painful. However the truth had to be told. He asked me anxiously about some armed vessels he was in hopes of getting from England, to be under the command of Captain Elliot, R.N., who, he had heard, would be a match for Napier. To this I could only answer that negotiations had been for some time going on in this matter, but I feared the necessary funds were wanting, and did not exactly see whence they were to come.

Dom Miguel could not have been pleased with my observations, but I felt I was bound to tell him what I considered to be the truth. He nevertheless thanked me and, when I retired, shook hands with me heartily.

At the end of the interview he observed, with evident signs of distress, "It is too bad of England and France thus openly to assist my enemies. I cannot make head against such powerful Governments."

Dom Miguel may have had from 7000 to 8000 men in Santarem under arms. These, however, were dispirited and wanting in rations, to say nothing of long arrears of pay of over a year. As to the numbers in hospital—the great majority dying from wounds, fevers, and cholera—I could not ascertain.

The Liberals said that Dom Miguel had 11,200 men in Santarem, which must have included those in hospital. They also reported that their force before Santarem, in April, 1834, was 12,320 men, 1,503 horses, and that their whole force throughout the country was 32,292 men and 2,171 horses.

In the evening of the 26th I returned to Chamusca. The following morning, I took a letter from Don Carlos to the Bishop of Leon, who held his "Ministerio Universal" at the Rocio de Abrantes. During the day the Bishop asked me if I would return to Chamusca with a reply to Don Carlos' letter, which begged for further instructions. (The diplomacy of delay is generally dangerous.)

I had an interview with Don Carlos on the 28th.

The 29th was the Princess of Beira's birthday (41 years of age). With many others I had the honour of attending, after mass and Te Deum, the Beja mãos, or hand-kissing.

I took Don Carlos' letter to the Bishop of Leon, late on the night of the 30th.

*May* 1*st*.—On arriving at the Rocio I found the Bishop had gone off by the river in great haste to Chamusca; to which place I returned at once.

I saw the Bishop on the 2nd, who hoped soon to let me have the answers to my despatches.

As Dom Miguel had not paid his promised visit to Chamusca, I went again to Santarem on the 3rd. Don Carlos came on horseback on the 4th in a great hurry to Santarem. He was closeted a long while with Dom Miguel. Nothing transpired as to the objects of this interview, but it was natural to suppose that some serious plans had been arranged; for my part I could not see how they could act in any satisfactory manner, or that anything useful could be done for either.

I had another interview with Dom Miguel, who informed me that his answers were not ready, but that he would see me in Chamusca.

Don Carlos left for Chamusca in the afternoon, escorted

by a troop of Dom Miguel's cavalry. He was a good horseman, and gave us a warm ride.

On the 5th I had a long interview with Don Carlos; a portion of our conversation turned on the recently emancipated Spanish-American colonies, then independent Republics. Don Carlos called them, "Las Indias" and "Colonias!" for as yet their independence had not been recognised by the mother country. It was on this point I touched, but had to do it most delicately, always adverting to "Las Indias." Having mentioned the separation of the "Colonias," instancing the recognition of our former North American possessions, which, although painful, was most politic, I came gradually to the point, viz., that, as the late Ferdinand VII. (for I dared not allude in any way to the then Government of Madrid) had not recognised the separation of the "Colonias," here was a fine opportunity for Don Carlos to perform a great act, which would give him a good harvest of political capital in and out of Europe, and operate to the detriment of his enemies; and if such recognition were promulgated at once, the "Colonias" could not but be grateful, *and they might be induced to assist him.* Don Carlos became thoughtful. I continued, touching tenderly upon some of the military successes of the "Colonias" against the Spanish arms, alluding to the great assistance they had indirectly had from the United States, England, and France, and assuring him that any idea at the present time of re-conquering the "Colonias" belonged to the category of miracles; that those countries which had assisted them already had an increasing and lucrative trade with the Republics; but with Spain's recognition of the Americas the old rancour would in time be forgotten, many Spaniards and their descendants (criollos) would return to their colonial properties, and Spain would come in

for its share of trade; also that the Americanos were of the same religion as the Spaniards, and that Peninsular manners and customs were more in unison with those of the "criollos" than with those of foreigners. I wound up by saying that a decree of a few lines only was necessary, acknowledging the independence of the present Republics, and, being signed "Yo el Rey," would run like wildfire through the Americas; and if, on my return to England with the answers to my despatches, it was his wish, I was entirely at his service to be the bearer of said recognitions to the several Spanish-American Republics. Supposing the recognition were not accepted, no harm could possibly accrue to him, and his political influence must be increased. Don Carlos was rather astonished, and, I believe, thanked me sincerely for my views on the matter.

I must here observe that what I have related formed no part of my mission, but forced itself on my mind, seeing the weak position in every way Don Carlos was in, as well as the lack of advisers capable of giving him any very extensive views as to how to strengthen his position.

At parting, he gave me a pressing shake of the hand. I begged that I might be dispatched at his earliest convenience (for I thought I saw huge difficulties fast approaching, both for him and Dom Miguel). Don Carlos smiled, and replied, "Veremos."

This word "veremos" ("we will see to it") is about as fatal an expression as "mañana" ("to-morrow") in connection with the "Cosas de España."*

* With regard to the word "mañana"—on the arrival of Don Carlos in England, not long after this interview, Captain ——, R.N., being introduced to him, observed, that "he hoped when his Majesty got to Madrid he would order a new edition of the Spanish dictionary to be published, with the fatal word 'mañana' ('to-morrow') omitted, and 'ayer" ('yesterday') substituted; also that any Spaniard usin

News arrived that the Cura Merino was at Segovia in Old Castile, and increasing his number of Carlist followers.

Chamusca was rather in a ferment, for the military did not admire that the Bishop of Leon should be "Ministro Universal," suggesting rather loudly that General Moreno should be named Minister of War; but the Bishop took such views very coolly, *appeared* to meditate much on the subject, said a great many prayers, smoking for ever his paper cigar (rolled up by his secretary, Don Ramon), even at dinner between the courses, and sipping Rosoglio; but I believe he would have been much more comfortable (had he chosen to have acknowledged Isabella) at his late see on the banks of the tranquil Bermesga, in the old kingdom of Leon, where he could have taken his beloved siesta of episcopal repose rather more tranquilly than he could on the banks of the golden Tagus. I was present at the Bishop's evening tertulias, where there was a great deal of mere talk.

Dom Miguel came early, on the 6th, to Chamusca, and had a long private interview with Don Carlos. Dom Miguel, on leaving, told me he would be again in Chamusca on the morrow, and would hand me his answers to my despatches.

Hearing that the Miguelite general Macdonald was not far off, at the Quinta Gualva, belonging to Mr. Adams, I went to see him. He fought very shy of expressing

the word 'mañana' should have three dozen on the spot." To this Don Carlos laughingly replied, "Veremos," which is about as bad. An Englishman, having a claim upon the Chile Government years since, had for some six months been calling on the ministry on the subject of his claim, the answer always being "Venga mañana" ("Call to-morrow"). At last he got for answer "Venga pasado mañana" ("Come the day after to-morrow"). "Well," said he, "'mañana' appears to mean 'never,' but 'pasado mañana,' I suppose, means 'the day of judgment.'"

any opinion on matters, in general or in particular, at this juncture; but from his way of fencing, I drew my own conclusions—namely, that both Dom Miguel and Don Carlos must be in a desperate position.

The Bishop of Leon, to have a little peace, on the 9th agreed with Don Carlos to appoint General Moreno Minister of War.

War there was likely to be plenty of, not in this vicinity, but soon in the north of Spain. However, Moreno's occupation for the present was the procuring of rations, which were at starvation point, for some eight hundred or a thousand mouths, and regulating the rank of officers, —for there were more officers than men; and some of the said officers having arrived at Don Carlos' head-quarters, considered they merited one step at least.

On the 10th a family retreating from Coimbra informed us that the Pedroites entered that city on the 7th, the Miguelites retiring without firing a shot! We also heard that Rodil was making arrangements to march upon Chamusca, which meant if possible to take Don Carlos and his family prisoners. Some talked of pressing Dom Miguel hard to let Don Carlos have troops, which, with the thousand Carlist followers, might make a dash upon Rodil—opinions, ideas, and wishes generally winding up with another fatal Spanish word, "Ojala," meaning, "Would to God such a thing could be." These got the name of "Ojalateros,"—talkers, not doers.

Dom Miguel wrote to Don Carlos that he was too unwell to come to Chamusca. I felt, if the body of the royal writer was indisposed, the mind was more so.

As to commissariat affairs, Chamusca was in a desperate state of starvation. A piece of salt fish and a salad was considered a meal for a Fidalgo. Cattle were only killed on

a Saturday, being so scarce. The place itself was in a filthy and wretched state—fleas, flies, bugs, &c., in myriads. How the royal family bore their privations I could not conceive. I saw and often conversed with Don Carlos' children, Carlos, Ferdinand, and Juan, and they were old enough to understand the trying circumstances in which they were placed.

*Sunday the 11th.*—To add to the discomfort at Chamusca, the Bishops of Coimbra and La Guarda with their retinues arrived, seeking quarters, having escaped from the Pedroites.

I saw Don Carlos during the day and asked him when he could despatch me. "Esperese un poco" ("Wait a little") was his reply, in a very melancholy and thoughtful tone.

Seven pieces of Miguelite artillery came into the village, making what appeared very much like a retrograde movement—a retreat.

On the 12th, the Bishop of Leon sent for and asked me to go to Mr. Adams with the following message: "In case Don Carlos should be surprised by Rodil, would he kindly give him and his family shelter at his quinta?" I went to Gualva, one league and a-half from Chamusca, gave my message, when Mr. Adams replied, he would give shelter to anyone in trouble. On my return to the Bishop I received his blessing with the following: "The Bishop of Leon will never forget you." General Rodil's division had been for the last four days about seven leagues off, and could easily have made all in Chamusca prisoners; if he had done so, it was believed that few would have been left alive to tell the story.

In the evening I got my despatches from the Bishop, with a blessing for my safety.

I now took leave of Don Carlos, his wife, and family, and the Princess of Beira, who observed to me (and it was full of meaning), "We shall soon meet again." She gave me her hand to kiss.

Don Carlos was evidently wavering between two forlorn hopes, the one that of presenting himself boldly as Carlos V. on the Spanish frontier; the other that of being reinforced with troops by Dom Miguel; perhaps there was a third, that of trusting to the chapter of accidents.

Before I left Don Carlos he intimated to me that he thought it very probable he should join Zumalacarregui in the Basque Provinces, but did not say by which route; by land seemed impossible; the only way was to leave Portugal by sea.

I left Chamusca, directing my steps to Mr. Adams'. On the road the "we shall soon meet again" of the Princess haunted me, and I came to the conclusion that the Royal family had come to a determination as to their movements, and the only one I saw for them was their escape down the Tagus to a British man-of-war.

I passed the evening at Mr. Adams' with General Macdonald,* who had now left Dom Miguel's service. I heard here that Dom Miguel had only 8000 men awaiting the advance of the Pedroites on Santarem; that his private papers and valuables had been sent to the opposite side of the river, taking the direction of Elvas on the Spanish frontier and near to Badajoz. Thus what I had seen and heard up to this period prepared me for the worst as regarded both Don Carlos and Dom Miguel.

I got to Santarem on the 13th. The Conde —— informed Dom Miguel I was in attendance, when the

* Killed in Portugal in 1846, in the Revolution of "Maria da Fonte." —See vol. i., p. 443.

latter sent word for me to go to his Minister José Antonio Guio. This official told me I must wait until he had again seen "the King." I now heard that Don Carlos had made a movement down the river and was then at Almerim, to which place I repaired, and on my road thither I came up with Cæsar Bourmont, who was in Dom Miguel's army—a younger son of Marshal Bourmont. I had a long chat with him about the war, and asked him why his father had not eaten up the Pedroites at Oporto. His reply was, "If we had had a much lesser number, but of Frenchmen, we should have done it; but we punished the Pedroites." "Yes," I said, "but you were beaten and had to retire." The conversation was not pleasant to him, for he had lost an elder brother before Oporto, so it was diverted to other subjects.

On the previous night there had been illuminations in Santarem for Miguelite successes (?) in the Algarves.

On arriving at Almerim, I found Don Carlos and his family there, and ascertained that my late companion, St. Sylvain, had tried, but failed, to get to Lisbon by the north side of the Tagus, but had that morning gone through Almerim on his way to Lisbon. One of two things was his object—either to get to England by the packet to sail in a day or so, or to make some arrangements for the safety of Don Carlos on board a British man-of-war (the latter turned out to be the case).

I recrossed the river to Santarem, and made out that Dom Miguel had only about 7000 infantry and 800 cavalry. The number of sick, from bad living, of wounded, and of those dying of typhus and cholera, was very large. The city was a huge charnel-house, and the quantity of filth of all sorts piled up everywhere was some-

thing astounding. A more painfully wretched place it was impossible to behold. The most appalling scenes were visible, as the dead and dying of cholera were laid on the floor of the churches, now turned into hospitals, or rather dying-places. Drilling I saw going on, and recruits tied hand to hand brought into the city. I was assured that in the battle of Almoster on the 18th February, Dom Miguel himself was in the thick of the fight, but not known. I went to the Ponte d'Asseca,* whence I could see the Pedroite pickets, and other parts of the line, and visited the batteries, but did not consider them suited to the defence of the place in any way. At one of the pickets an officer told me in an undertone that Dom Miguel could not hold out much longer, without he could beat both Saldanha and Terceira.

In the evening I got my despatches from Senhor Guio, paid a farewell visit to Dom Miguel,† and bade adieu to Santarem, feeling sure that a momentous crisis was at hand, not favourable to the Miguelite cause.

I crossed the Tagus on my way to Lisbon, hoping to catch the homeward-bound packet to England, remaining for the night at La Gualva, enjoying the hospitality of Mr. Adams.

Mr. Adams accompanied me on the 15th to the village of Santa Martha.

I had been on the road but a short time, when I saw ahead of me an old Swiss officer, whom I had become

* See plan of positions before Santarem, vol. i., p. 387.

† Some time afterwards Baron de Haber asked me how Dom Miguel looked when I left him, and what I thought of his fine black beard. Black beard! Why, his face was as smooth as the razor he had shaved with. The Baron observed, "Had I seen him minus his beard, I should have concluded at once that his game was up, for he had sworn never to shave until he had driven the Pedroites out of Portugal."

acquainted with at Chamusca. He had, according to his own account, been in the service of Spain for forty years, fighting her battles under all sorts of governments. He had claims upon claims. He had left Madrid on foot, and joined Don Carlos, but soon saw that he was not in a position to enter Spain from the Portuguese frontier. He was journeying almost as a beggar and broken-hearted to Lisbon, in the hope of reaching his native land by some means or other, and there rest his bones after his fierce battle of life. I very much doubted, from the state of his health, if that last comfort was reserved for him.

He had expressed a wish at Chamusca to accompany me to Lisbon, but this I had to refuse, as the presence of a military man would compromise me, and I should not be free to act as circumstances might present. So, having weighed our respective positions, I came to the painful determination that I must give the poor old soldier the go-by, which I did at a gallop, without, I believe, being recognised by him.

I went towards Lisbon by Salvatierra to Benevente, arriving there rather late. I was half an hour knocking at the door of the inn—or rather a compound of filthy stables and the dirtiest habitations imaginable—before I could gain admittance, and only then by assuring a servant I was an Englishman, and had nothing to do with either of the armies. I had to wait another half-hour before I could get sight of the host, who was hopelessly drunk. I learnt he had been in this state for some weeks, in consequence of the death of his wife of cholera. I found a family here retreating from Santarem to Lisbon; but as they were well known *not* to be Miguelites they intended to go down the river by boat. I would gladly have gone the same way, but I had no pass; and all persons going

down the river were examined by the Pedroite gunboats, and those who could not give a good account of themselves as Liberals—as I could not—found themselves in an unsatisfactory position.

By land, it was pretty certain, if not travelling with a large body, I should fall into the hands of robbers. I might be stripped to the skin by them; but should, in all probability, have my liberty. Ere I lay down to rest for a few hours I prepared for the worst. My despatches, circular notes, a few doubloons and sovereigns, I secreted between the soles and false soles of my boots, keeping some gold and silver in my pockets.

Early the next morning, the 16th, I procured a guide to go with me to Alcochete, thence across the Tagus to Lisbon. Before we started, a muleteer, who had come to the inn during the night, told my guide he had been stopped by robbers, who had made him pay rather a heavy toll. Three leagues on our road we met some muleteers, who cried to us to beware of "as ladroes" (robbers.) We now entered a pine forest, about a mile from Barroca de Alva, my guide trotting on foot by my side, as if for protection. I told him to have courage, as I had a prime pair of pistols, and knew how to use them, doing a little bombast on the occasion, when, on a sudden, from under a huge pine tree, a man on horse-back put himself into the middle of the road. A carbine hung by the side of his saddle, and a long musket was pointed at me, he shouting out in a gruff voice, "pé em terra" ("dismount"). Seeing only one fellow, I drew a pistol, telling the vagabond to let me pass, when two others, also armed, rushed from under cover and the three soon stood before me. They pulled me out of my saddle, and made me lie down on the ground, whilst they ransacked my saddle-bags—the

great prize being my pistols, which they much admired. They asked me if I had intended to fire. I replied that when I only saw one to oppose my passage, I hoped that by producing my pistol I should be allowed to proceed; but on seeing three of them, why, I had no other course than to surrender. I was now ordered to mount and go into the adjoining wood with them, when we came to a ravine. They growled rather at my impertinence in having pointed a pistol at robber No. 1. I asked if either of them had been in my position would he not have done the same, to which they answered, "Pois" ("Perhaps.")

They now told me if I had secreted any money, I had better, for the peace of my soul, haul it out; and my guide, with his eyes full of tears, implored me to give up at once all the cash I had. To save them trouble I volunteered to unpack my well-stored valise. All fell a prey to the brigands. Finding no money in my baggage they proceeded to examine my pockets, where they found some pounds in gold and silver. They suspected I had a belt with money, but on examination found I had not. Then my watch, seal, and silver pencil-case* went. After begging hard for the seal, pencil-case, and a shirt, these articles were returned. I asked them to give me a little money to get a meal at Alcochete, also to pay my fare across the river to Lisbon, when, after some consideration, they threw me a couple of cruzados novos, about five shillings. They then ordered me to give up my real good pilot coat, leaving me my shabby and torn camlet cloak, and took possession of my horse, giving me in exchange the skeleton of a mare, at the same time assuring me that if I mentioned a word about what had happened,

* Given to me by Mrs. Faraday in 1825, on leaving the Royal Institution for South America.

aud I fell again into their hands, they would crucify me; they then told me to be off, an injunction which I obeyed with the greatest pleasure.

They had forgotten to examine my boots; and even had they made me take them off, they would not have had the "sabe" (knowingness) to examine into the peculiar arrangement of the soles.

The brigands now said "Adeus," and dashed off. My guide was so used up that, on arrival at Barroca de Alva, I left him there, going on foot with another guide (who had Miguelite tendencies) to Alcochete. Proceeding at once to the house of the judge, I gave full particulars of the late affair, and had now a good opportunity of procuring a pass to Lisbon. The earnest manner in which my new guide seconded my request, by swearing that I was the son of a British merchant in Lisbon, and that my pass and my mercantile papers had been taken from me by the robbers, was charmingly done; he further swore that he knew my family in Lisbon. All this, coupled with the fact of my having been robbed of everything, and stripped even to my coat, produced the desired sympathy, the authority himself becoming bondsman that I was not a "suspected person." The following is a translation of the pass, which it was necessary to have in moving about at that period:—

[*Pedroite Seal of Office.*]

F—— J—— do R——, third examiner, in the absence of the Judge de Fora, for Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen, whom God preserve. I hereby make known that from this town goes to Lisbon, —— ——. unmarried, and a son of a British merchant. He has been vouched for in this office, *as not being a suspected person.* And that no impediment may be thrown in his way I hereby give him this pass, to be of value for the term of three days.

Alcochete, 16*th May*, 1834.

M—— G—— da C——, the notary who writes this.

Height, ordinary; age, 26; features, round; eyes, blue (they were grey); nose, regular; hair, chestnut; beard, scanty.

(Signed) F—— J—— do R——.

Signature of the holder, —— ——.

On the morning of the 17th May, I crossed the Tagus with others in the first passage boat to Lisbon. At the landing-place note was taken of the passes before we were allowed to leave the guard-house. I went to a small inn near Black Horse Square, then to cash some circular notes at Coutts' correspondents, purchased some clothes, and was again ready for a start.

News was received during the day that the Duke of Terceira had beaten the Miguelites at Aceiceira, a few miles north of Santarem, on the 16th, which was generally considered as a settler for Miguelite rule in Portugal. In this case it was reasonable to suppose that Terceira was in Santarem as a conqueror with Dom Pedro. This information was particularly astounding to the Miguelite portion of the population of Lisbon.

I at once procured a pass from the British consul for a passage on board the English man-of-war packet 'Scorpion,' Lieutenant Robillard, R.N. At midnight I got on board that vessel, and slept safe and sound under the charmed protection of the British flag.

The next day it was telegraphed that the Pedroites were in Santarem, and that Dom Miguel had retreated across the Tagus. It was supposed that Dom Miguel and Don Carlos would fall back upon Evora. Those with strong Miguelite sympathies hoped that Dom Miguel would collect what was left, say 20,000 men, of his once great

army of some 82,000 men,* with the followers of Don Carlos get into Spain, induce or force some Cristino general or other to join them, and make a dash at Madrid. I believed nothing of the sort. At 2 p.m. I sailed for England, arriving in London the 9th June. I delivered my despatches to Baron de Haber, who forwarded them to their respective destinations.

* Including militia and volunteers, he had at one time 127,000 men under arms.

## CHAPTER V.

**Reports on Portugal and Spain—Pedroite successes—Don Carlos tries Rodil and other generals; fails—Rodil nearly catches Don Carlos; shoots some of his servants—Don Carlos at Chamusca—Zumalacarregui—Dom Miguel cannot assist Don Carlos—Court and camp—Pedroites besiege Santarem—Dom Miguel retreats to Evora; Don Carlos seeks refuge with the British fleet at Lisbon—QUADRUPLE ALLIANCE; Palmerston and Talleyrand—Dom Miguel's forced abdication; goes to Italy—Don Carlos arrives in England; refuses to renounce his claim to the Spanish throne; he escapes, and goes through France to the Basque Provinces.**

WHILST on board the 'Scorpion,' I drew up the following:—

The successes of the Duke of Terceira in the vicinity of, and march upon, Villa Real, north of the Douro, obliged Don Carlos and his family to retreat towards the Tagus. Just before, the Cura Merino, with some sixty horsemen, had sallied from Villa Real, and entered Spain, believing that he should be able to increase the number of his cavalry, harass the Cristinos, and afford protection to those who wished to join Don Carlos, then return and be in readiness to accompany Don Carlos, as was hoped, to Madrid. These were very bold views; but Merino could not get back with the hoped-for forces. Don Carlos had been led to suppose that the Cristino generals, Rodil and San Juanena, who were on the Spanish frontier with considerable forces, might be induced to join his standard if he approached them with a goodly number of

followers. But in this he was mistaken, for, on the night of the 14th April, Don Carlos, his family, and the Princess of Beira had to make a most precipitate retreat from Guarda, towards the Tagus, having been nearly surrounded by Rodil's troops. These, however, captured the whole of Don Carlos' baggage, and made prisoners of some of his servants and escort, whom they shot. Had Don Carlos and his family fallen into Rodil's hands, it is generally supposed their fate would have been a melancholy one.*

On the arrival of Don Carlos on the south side of the Tagus, he had with him from five to six hundred followers, fifty to sixty being mounted. He had also an escort of horse from Dom Miguel. Don Carlos now made the village of Chamusca, midway between Abrantes and Santarem, his head-quarters, so as to be near Dom Miguel, who, with a reduced and dispirited army, and much sickness and cholera in his camp, was now at Santarem, narrowly watched by the increasing and successful Pedroite forces.

Whilst Don Carlos was at Chamusca, many Spanish officers joined him, some direct from Spain, others *viâ* France to England, then by sea to the coast of Portugal.

Zumalacarregui was becoming a formidable opponent of the Cristinos in the Basque Provinces, and the Cura Merino, the soldier priest, had increased the number of his cavalry and had made important raids, particularly in the vicinity of Segovia. Indeed, Don Carlos had so high an opinion of the Cura's abilities, that he had been heard to say that if the Cura had had five hundred horse, he (Don

* In the written instructions to Rodil it was stated, that if Don Carlos fell into his hands, he was to be sent to the castle of Badajoz; and should Dom Miguel be taken, he was to be retained as a prisoner.

Carlos) would have entered Spain with him from Villa Real with the feeling of every chance of success.

For some time it was looked upon as certain that Dom Miguel would lend Don Carlos some 4000 men. With such a force, in addition to those he had with him, a favourable entrance into Spain was anticipated. When at last this friendly assistance was definitively refused by Dom Miguel, some said there was "treason." The truth is, Dom Miguel could not spare a man from his now reduced army for operations in Spain; for Dom Miguel saw plainly, that the moment his troops went to the assistance of Don Carlos, the Cristino generals Rodil, San Juanena, and others would march their divisions, as open enemies against him, into Portugal.

Men, arms, and money* were wanting in Don Carlos' little camp. There was an abundance of officers of all grades, including Generals Abreu, Moreno, Rafael, Maroto, and Martinez; Colonels Belingero, Urbistondo, Soldavilla, Balmaceda, &c.; a host of lieutenant-colonels and majors, to say nothing of captains and lieutenants, including a young O'Donnel. There was also a son of a Captain Webb of Plymouth, who went with Señor Lavendero in the 'Maria Elisabeth.' When he had been made a "Cristiano," he would be allowed to enter the service of Don Carlos. These, having arrived at the head-quarters of "Carlos Quinto," while beholding their King and his family, forgot the sufferings they had experienced (many had escaped from Cristino prisons) in coming to join their royal master, offering him their swords in defence of his legitimate right to the crown of Spain. Nearly the whole of

* Not long before this Don Carlos' wife and the Princess of Beira had sold the greater portion of the jewels they had with them for some £5000.

them had had to leave Spain in disguise, the once bedizened officers as shabby-looking muleteers; sprightly gentlemen of the court as dandy Andalusian "majos;" and the arrogant body-guard as peasants, ofttimes covered with mud, and with beards of a month's growth.

The Court could only give them their smiles and thanks. On the arrival of anyone, Don Carlos would see him immediately, thanking him for the proof of attachment, asking numberless questions as to adventures in joining him, but more particularly as to the political feeling of the people in the towns and villages through which they had passed; such kissed his hand and seemed to be repaid. The Queen and the Infantes also welcomed those who had joined them; and from the balcony of the wretched habitation the royal family had at Chamusca, they recognised at once many of the officers, although habited as majos, muleteers, or peasants, calling them by their names, with a "Como está," or a "Buenos dias." New-comers, having paid their respects to Don Carlos, his wife, and children, would go to the Princess of Beira. This lady had the reputation of considerable political talent, and would not always look at Don Carlos' position in a favourable light, and no persuasion of those who surrounded her could induce her to believe that the position of Dom Miguel and that of Don Carlos was at all satisfactory, which annoyed not a little the Bishop of Leon and his surrounding.

I have already spoken of the rather absurd position of the Bishop of Leon, as "Ministro Universal." He was induced, owing to great pressure, to leave the management of military affairs to General Moreno.

Giving the Bishop of Leon credit for doing what he considered right, the extraordinary and helpless position

in which Don Carlos was placed required the counsels of the best and keenest of advisers, those who really knew the Spain of the day, and who could give an opinion looking at both sides of the question. There were Spaniards at Chamusça who could have done this, had they been permitted. It was then too plainly seen that the old system of things was to be adhered to, and it was whispered that the progress of the "santa causa" would be a very up-hill affair; there were some who intimated that the best line of policy Don Carlos could take would be to promulgate somewhat of a liberal form of government for Spain, which the Church party about him, in particular, called treason!

The Pedroites by this time had landed on the north coast of Portugal, taking possession of Vianna, Caminha, Valença, and other places; another force had marched out of Oporto on Braga, sweeping the Miguelites before them; another on Coimbra, with the same result; and Rodil was ready within the frontier to assist Donna Maria whenever required. The Pedroites had mustered in strength in the vicinity of Santarem; and that city looked very much like Dom Miguel's last stronghold.

At this period many of Don Carlos' and Dom Miguel's partisans believed that armed foreign help was on its way to support their "causa," including a naval force from England under Captain Elliot, to crush the Pedroites under Napier. I did my best to explain away, even in high quarters, such dreams; stating that efforts might have been made by certain parties in such directions, had they not been hampered by the jealousy of individuals in France and England (French Carlists), who unfortunately had influence, but who, I had been informed, were totally unfit for the emergency.

Then as to the position of Don Carlos in Portugal, he himself seemed to be his only adviser.

As to Dom Miguel, he appeared only to have with him as his Minister (that of the Interior), a quiet, little old man, José Antonio Guio; then there was Dom Miguel's secretary, Torres, who appeared to keep Dom Miguel quite to himself; and as to General Lemos, it was said of him that he was ready to meet the Pedroites in the plains of Golgão whenever they chose. Why did he not encounter them before they were so well prepared for him?

On the 13th of May, Don Carlos not considering himself safe at Chamusca, for Rodil was approaching that spot, moved down the Tagus to Almerim, so as to be nearer to Dom Miguel, who was in Santarem. The writer of this narrative had already applied to an English gentleman who lived in the vicinity to ascertain whether, in the event of Don Carlos finding it necessary to make a rapid retreat, he would give him shelter. Dom Miguel was sending his more valuable property and papers from Santarem towards Evora. These acts looked ominous.

On the 14th May, the writer left the two royal head-quarters for Lisbon, reaching that city on the 17th, when during the day it was telegraphed that the Miguelites had been beaten on the 16th at Aceiceira. The following day another telegraphic message reached Lisbon, that Dom Miguel had evacuated Santarem, and was retreating upon Evora with Don Carlos and his family.

The writer left Lisbon that day, arriving in London on the 9th of June.

### REPORT CONTINUED.

As Dom Miguel could not assist Don Carlos with an armed force to try and enter Spain, so the latter

had to await the course of events. Don Carlos had it also notified to him that the Northern Powers were sorry they could not recognise him as King of Spain until he had entered his country and had made a stand. It was pretty clear that Don Carlos, with the few followers he had, could not attempt, with any chance of success, going by land to the Basque Provinces.

Under such circumstances he had no other move than to seek the protection of the British Minister at Lisbon, repair to England by sea, and thence, through France enter the north of Spain.

About the 13th May, Don Carlos dispatched M. St. Sylvain to Lisbon with letters to the British Minister and Admiral Parker, asking to be taken to England, which was agreed to on the 17th. Here M. St. Sylvain heard that the "Quadruple Alliance" had been signed on the 22nd April, by Palmerston, Talleyrand, Miraflores, and Moraes-Sarmento, by which there could be little doubt that Isabella II. and Maria II. would be the protected parties, to the detriment of Don Carlos and Dom Miguel.*

* The "Quadruple Alliance" of the western and constitutional Governments of Europe was an extension of the alliance between France and England. With this remarkable and popular compact—a compact which embodied the best principles on which an Anglo-French Alliance can be formed—the diplomatic career of Talleyrand closed. He felt, as he himself said, that there "is a sort of space between death and life which should be employed in dying decently."—Sir H. L. Bulwer, "Historical Characters," vol. i., p. 399, 1868.

As regarded Palmerston, "He was a man intensely earnest. He had a passionate sympathy for oppressed nations, a deep and abiding hate for the stupid non-rule of the Continental despots, and, at the same time, a good-humoured contempt for the mere anarchists and madmen who did not know how to govern the realms they would set free. Constitutional Piedmont, Belgium, Liberal France, were the allies of his work" (Portugal and Spain owe him something). "*Old* Russia and *old* Austria were always his foes."—*Daily Telegraph*, June 23rd, 1869.

The day after Dom Miguel's arrival at Evora he held a review of the troops he had with him. They amounted to 12,000 infantry, 5 squadrons of cavalry, and artillery. His general, Cabreira, was in the Algarves with 5000 men. These had been ordered to Evora. Thus Dom Miguel still had 18,000 or 19,000 men. It was urged by some that the 12,000 infantry, 4 squadrons of cavalry, and 3 field pieces should be handed over to Don Carlos, whilst Dom Miguel should repair with the rest of his army to Elvas, and shut himself up there for a while. However, Dom Miguel could not be brought to adopt these views, and prepared to surrender. The Bishop of Leon supplicated Dom Miguel to enter into the above arrangement, saying, "But, Sire, your Majesty may yet recover your crown; only come with us and seek it at Madrid." Dom Miguel replied, "I would eagerly embrace such a resolution, were I not unhappily convinced that no one would follow me."

Dom Miguel's general Guedez was sent to the head-quarters of the Duke of Terceira, who would only agree to an armistice of forty-eight hours. The secretary of the British Embasy, Mr. Grant, now arrived at Evora, and the result of his interview with Dom Miguel was that he who had been reigning as King of Portugal for the last six years, had to resign himself to receive the law from his brother Dom Pedro, the Regent of Portugal, in the name of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria II.

General Lemos, Dom Miguel's commander-in-chief, went to Terceira's head-quarters to settle the terms of capitulation, which was done on the 26th May, by which Dom Miguel had to leave the country for ever. Don Carlos at his own request could go to England. The parties signing the treaty were Terceira and Saldanha

for Donna Maria II; Lemos and Torrezao for Dom Miguel.

Under these circumstances, Don Carlos had lost all hope of assistance from Dom Miguel, but he received cheering accounts from Zumalacarregui, urging on him to repair at once to the Basque Provinces, promising every hope of success.

Don Carlos had now no other means of getting into Spain, except *via* England and through France; so he at once embarked from Aldea Gallega.*

On the 30th the farewell took place at three in the morning, between Dom Miguel and Don Carlos and his family, including the Princess of Beira. Dom Miguel proceeded to embark in H.B.M ship 'Stag,' Captain Lockyer, at Sines, for Italy, whilst Don Carlos proceeded to Aldea Gallega, accompanied by Colonel Wild.

On the 12th of June Don Carlos took leave of his devoted followers in these words:—"My gallant friends, it is most painful to me to be separated from you. I leave you under the protection of the British Government, which has pledged itself to me to defend you. You will embark before the end of the week in vessels I have hired, that you may rejoin me. I am convinced that Providence will not abandon you, and that we shall one day have the happiness of again seeing together our dear country." At 11 a.m. the royal family left Aldea Gallega, and a

* Napier states that Don Carlos sent M. St. Sylvain with a letter to Admiral Parker to request he would receive him on board an English ship-of-war on the Tagus. The agent pretended that Don Carlos wished to go to Italy, and begged he might be conveyed there. This was refused, but he was given to understand he might go anywhere else. Don Carlos feigned to be much chagrined at this, and unwillingly consented to go to England, the very country to which the Baron wished to convey him, and on the 1st June he embarked and landed in England.

salvo of twenty-one guns announced their arrival alongside the 'Donegal,' when Captain Fanshawe received them. They sailed at noon, and at the moment of clearing the Tagus, they met the 'Stag,' having Dom Miguel on board bound for Genoa, where on the 20th June, he protested against the convention of the 28th May.

On the 12th June, Don Carlos arrived at Spithead. Mr. Backhouse, Under-Secretary of State, and the Marquis of Florida Blanca, the Spanish Ambassador, repaired to Portsmouth. Mr. Backhouse had been instructed by Lord Palmerston to make the following proposals to Don Carlos :—That he should renounce his claim to the Spanish crown, receiving, as compensation, a considerable sum of money and a handsome pension, to be paid by the Spanish and guaranteed by the English Government. Don Carlos replied, "that his right to the crown of Spain was inherent in his person, and that he could not renounce it without failing in his obligations towards his people, and his duty towards his God, from whom he had received it; that, moreover, neither as father nor as a king, could he attempt to impair the rights of his sons, or of the other princes interested in the maintenance of them; that, in short, he would in no degree derogate from what he owed to his birth and his country; and that whatever might be his personal interest, he would never desert the cause of his faithful subjects."

Don Carlos would not see the Marquis of Florida, except as a Spanish grandee, which the Ambassador of Isabella II. could not accede to.

On the 18th June, Don Carlos left the 'Donegal' under a salute of 21 guns, and on landing 21 more; now bearing the title of Duke of Elizondo.

Don Carlos, on leaving Portsmouth for London, took up

his abode at Gloucester Lodge, Brompton, the residence of the late George Canning, on the 24th June; and it was here that his escape into Spain was arranged, piloted by M. St. Sylvain. The day being fixed, the 1st July, Don Carlos proceeded to the house of M. Bourgot, a French Carlist, in Welbeck Street, where he cut his moustachios off, and Madame Bourgot dyed his hair. At midnight he left London for Brighton, thence to Dieppe, Paris, onwards to Bayonne, and crossed the frontier into Navarre, arriving at Elizondo on the 9th.

The Baron Maurice de Haber was the first to supply Don Carlos with funds on his arrival at Portsmouth; previous to this occasion he had substantially assisted his cause, and he continued to do so long afterwards.

Some of the French Carlists put cash at Don Carlos' disposal, and one or two wealthy Miguelites came forward also. Whilst in London Don Carlos received visits from the French and Portuguese Legitimists in particular, and from a few Tories, including the Duke of Cumberland.*

On the 28th June,† Señor Castillo took Don Carlos in an open carriage about London. His first visit was to St. Paul's, where he remained nearly two hours; and after viewing the interior, with the feeling of one who believes his own religion to be the best, he emphatically exclaimed :—"*Que lastima!* What a pity that this once

* At this time a young man named Aznarez, a Spanish ex-*attaché* at Naples, joined Don Carlos, and had much influence with him. It is said that he became erroneously impressed by Aznarez as to what the more prudent Legitimist Courts counselled him to do. Aznarez became Don Carlos' agent in London, and believed that the old Absoluto diplomacy alone was required for the success of his master, whom he thought, even in early days, already ascending the steps of the Spanish throne. It may also be stated that there were very many Carlists who followed in this track.

† Walton's "Revolutions of Spain," vol. ii., p. 148.

Catholic church has ceased to belong to the creed of an Alfred and the early Henrys!" On the same day he visited the new bazaar in Oxford Street, and was much pleased with the distribution, as well as the display of the stalls, and the specimens of British industry. He rode to the Regent's Park, and admired the beauty of the buildings, walks, and enclosures. Wishing to see the interior of an English house, he accompanied Señor Castillo, the Cristino ex-Consul-General, to his residence, which he examined from kitchen to garret. The day afterwards he passed through Hyde Park, and visited the Tunnel; and having to inscribe his name in a book, Señor Castillo wrote down "Don Carlos." The sight of the Thames from Rotherhithe gave him a slight idea of the commerce of the British metropolis. The manner in which London was lighted and supplied with water appeared to him to be beyond improvement; and he particularly admired the foot-pavements, and the beauty, as well as the cleanliness of the streets and squares. He was anxious that his sons should learn English.

## CHAPTER VI.

Author goes to the Basque Provinces—Passports—Calomarde in Paris—Bayonne, a hotbed of Carlism—Elizondo; the Junta of Navarre; Financial arrangements—The Cura Echevaria—Zumalacarregui's plans; his attacks on Vittoria; Alsasua; Reprisals; shoots O'Donnel; gains battle at Dos Hermanas—Rising in Catalonia—Carnicer and Cabrera rise in Arragon—Life in Elizondo—Spanish pride—Junta meets; Conde Villamur violent—Author leaves for Paris with despatches for Don Carlos; he had gone through and was in Spain—He returns to Spain; is arrested on the frontier—Comes up with Don Carlos—His flight from England—Financial interview with Don Carlos—Author to go to Holland—Cholera in Madrid—Massacre of monks there—Paris; Antwerp; fearful of arrest; retreat to Holland.

Having already brought my information to the 9th June, 1834, now connected with financial and political matters, I commence my observations on the 10th, when I left London for Spain.

Funds were much wanted by the Carlists, when Baron de Haber sent by me £4000 for the immediate use of Navarre, Biscay, Alava, and Guipuzcoa.

An Englishman could either have a passport from our Foreign Office or from a French consul. Mail or stage to Dover; steam to Calais; when the passport had often to be given up for a receipt. Then the "diligence," an amusing variation of Noah's ark, trundled you to Paris. On arrival, one had to go to the police-office, where the receipt was exchanged for the passport. To go, say to Bayonne, it had to be viséd for that place, and if for the Continent, it required the visas of the respective Ministers.

Modern railway travellers on the Continent know nothing of the annoyances of those times.

On the 14th, whilst in Paris, I got information that Don Carlos had left Portugal and had arrived at Portsmouth; also instructions to look well into the state of the Juntas, and, ere I left, to see Señor Tadeo Calomarde, the exiled ex-Minister of Ferdinand VII., and ascertain how he was affected to Don Carlos. Calomarde had been in Paris some time, and was looked upon as a very cautious individual. I communicated to him the arrival of Don Carlos in England, when he wished me to take letters to him. This I told him I could not do, as I was on my way to the Carlist Juntas.

Calomarde was a little, mean, suspicious-looking man, of about sixty years of age, and I was rather surprised, after some conversation with him, that he should have been for ten years a Minister, even under Ferdinand VII. He did not come out openly as a Carlist, fearing that the property he still had in Spain would be confiscated. He had, however, considerable funds out of the country. Don Carlos did not trust him, still Calomarde gave him some funds at this period—a sort of peace-offering, for when he was Minister of Grace and Justice, or conscience-keeper to Ferdinand, he acquiesced in the change of succession. Subsequently he got Ferdinand to reverse it; but the document was torn up in his presence by the Queen's sister, and Calomarde was driven out of Spain.

In 1824 Calomarde was appointed Minister of Grace and Justice. He discharged the duties of his office with great severity and despotism, and it was under his administration, on the 31st July, 1826, that a schoolmaster, Antonio Ripoll, was burnt in Valencia for denying the Trinity.

With a hand valise I repaired to the coach-yard of Lafitte and Caillards, taking my place in the diligence destined for Bordeaux. Before starting, passports were scrupulously examined. Then off we scampered, rattling out of Paris, drawn by strong and lively horses, with a noisy driver and a chattering conductor.

Orleans, Tours, Poictiers, Ruffec, (the last famed for its pâtés), Angouléme, to Bourdeaux; onwards by the Malle-Poste, with postilion in big boots and another conductor, over the fatiguing corduroy roads of the Landes to Bayonne, arriving on the 20th. Most refreshing was the "café au lait" or "bouillon" at early morn, and most excellent were the breakfasts and dinners; as we got south, the fruits, red and white wines, particularly the Sauterne, were delicious.

I put up, by direction, as Detroyat's St. Etienne (Carlist) Hotel. At Bayonne and its vicinity there were a number of French Legitimists, who were most active for Don Carlos, and facilitated the going in and coming out of Spain of his agents and followers; a very hotbed of Carlism. I had a passport in my own name viséd to Bayonne, but I was smuggled into Navarre.

On the 21st I left for Sarre, a three hours' ride from Bayonne, where I was hospitably received by a French Carlist, M. Rivet. The next morning I was stealthily conveyed over the frontier to the village of Zugaramurdi, to the agent there of the Junta, or governing body of the kingdom of Navarre, who had me sent forward to Elizondo, in the valley of the Bastan. I arrived at mid-day, and was taken to the President, the Cura Juan de Echevaria. As I was the first bringer of cash who had come amongst them, and as I had lately been with Don Carlos in Portugal, I was well looked after. I also con-

veyed to them the news of Don Carlos' arrival in England, and that he would soon be in the provinces.

The ride from Bayonne to the foot of the Pyrenees is easy and through an interesting district. As usual in all mountainous countries, the scenery is changing and interesting, particularly where there is foliage.

After mass, on the 23rd, I was requested by the Junta to enter into details of my mission. I informed them that Baron de Haber, having received information from the several Juntas of their great want of money, had entrusted me with funds, and that more would be coming forward; that I was to ascertain what number of men were under arms in the Basque Provinces, and what amount they could manage with until a loan could be negotiated for Don Carlos. It was arranged there should be a meeting at Elizondo as soon as possible of deputies from the other Juntas, to give me the information I required.

Elizondo I found to be a prettily-situated town, strongly built, and although the houses had a quaint and rough exterior, comfort was not wanting within. The fine-looking Navarrese soldiers were to be seen, some on the march, others drilling, others casting bullets and making cartridges. Then the clang in the armourers' sheds, the shoeing of horses, and the general military bustle made it a stirring scene. The soldiers were habited in jacket and trousers, red boyna, or flat basque cap, alpargatas or hempen sandals, no stiff stocks—in fact, in capital light marching order. There were a great number of priests and monks flitting about as news-carriers, and I was informed there were many of the latter under arms. An old man came into the town, inquiring for a son, who had been engaged in a late fight. He had been killed. "Is it so?" He shed tears. "Well,

I have two more at home; I'll send them to replace their brother, and if they fall, I'll come myself." Surely this was determination for the war they were engaged in, whether for their Fueros or provincial rights, La Santa Religion, or for Don Carlos. A cura sent a fine horse for the use of the cavalry, asking in return any old hack.

*St. John the Baptist's Day.*—I went to mass. There was good organ music and singing. Afterwards I, with the Cura Echevaria, went to see "La Generala," the wife of the Carlist commander, Zumalacarregui. This lady was stout and still pretty. We had a most animated conversation on general affairs. There was no want of sturdy pride about her; indeed she was just the wife for Zumalacarregui in the very difficult task he had undertaken. She had two little daughters with her, one called "Pepita"—Josefa, abou five years of age; the other, Michaela, in arms. The eldest, Ignacia, about six years of age, was absent.

I have already alluded to Zumalacarregui joining, and being placed in command of, the Carlists in October, 1833, when they had been nearly "defeated, dispersed, and disarmed." His force then consisted of 800 men, whilst the Queen's army and volunteers amounted to over 120,000. By the spring of 1834 it was said that he had worn out Generals Sarsfield, Valdez, and Quesada.

His general plan of operations was based upon a temporising system of marches and countermarches. His first attack of importance was on the national foundry of Orbaizeta, north-east of Pamplona, in January, 1834, where he obtained a supply of arms and gunpowder. The Cristino generals, Valdez and Lorenzo, sallied forth from Pamplona with 3000 men, and but for his great activity the Junta of Navarre would have been captured and shot.

He came to action with his enemy, forcing them to retire on Burguete. On the 14th February he attacked Estella, south-west of Pamplona, but was not successful. On the 18th March he surprised and attacked the Cristinos in front of Vittoria, when some of his men unfortunately quitted their ranks to pillage, and lost a good opportunity for better things. They had to retreat, but took many prisoners and arms. Thirty Carlist stragglers were, however, taken and shot. On hearing this, Zumalacarregui shot four times that number of his prisoners. April 22nd occurred the affair at Alsasua, east of Vittoria, where the Carlist bayonets produced a panic amongst the Cristinos under Quesada; but, owing to the advance of Jauregui with his cavalry, Quesada was not followed up. The Carlists took 100 prisoners, arms, stores and baggage. Among the officers captured was Colonel Leopold O'Donnel, the only son of the Conde de La Bisbal. The Cristinos had hitherto given no quarter, so Zumalacarregui saw, with great grief, that he must retaliate. O'Donnel, with others, were shot. Before their execution they said that the same fate would have been the doom of Zumalacarregui had he fallen into Quesada's power.

Zumalacarregui was most anxious to put a stop to the no-quarter system, but no heed was taken of his communications. The shooting of O'Donnel, two officers of the guards, and one of carbineers was by way of reprisal for the execution of the Alcalde of Atoun; for a Carlist corporal shot at Pamplona six carbineers, and for two volunteers shot at Tolosa six soldiers of the guards, also six others for Carlists bayoneted at Calahorra, near Logroño.

Zumalacarregui wrote from Huarte-Araquil, May 19th, to Don Carlos, then at Villa Real in Portugal, entreating him to repair to the provinces. "Come, Sire, dread

nothing. A brave people to a man will perish rather than you should experience harm. Hence will your Majesty recover the throne of S. Ferdinand. Ten thousand bayonets will you have at your side the moment you reach Spanish territory, and a few days afterwards many thousands more. Your arms, Sire, on the 22nd April, triumphed over the enemy commanded by the rebel Quesada. On the 24th of the same month his army was again beaten. We are in painful uncertainty whether my humble writing of last April, which I sent by the blanket contractor, reached your Majesty. ' (It reached him.) God preserve the life of your Majesty, and safely bring you among us, as the commencement of our happiness."

On the 3rd June Quesada's forces entered the Bastan, when the Junta of Navarre withdrew from Elizondo to the mountains. However, he narrowly escaped from the Carlists.

Zumalacarregui, leaving Uranga to watch Quesada, and directing Guibelalde to cover the Alavese defiles, hoped to prevent Lorenzo's column from forming a junction with Rodil. In June Lorenzo left Pamplona, when Zumalacarregui pushed forward, fiercely attacking him on the 17th at Dos Hermanas, when the Cristinos gave way. This was the hardest fighting the Carlists had hitherto experienced. Their commander shed tears of joy when he witnessed the intrepidity with which his men rushed upon the disciplined masses of the enemy, who retired to Pamplona. Uranga subsequently attacked a part of Quesada's troops and took two field-pieces.

The Cristinos say that up to this period the Carlists had suffered reverses at Huesca, Guernica, Oñate, Muro, Bermeo, Alsasua, and Lumbier. But they had learned to be as disciplined soldiers as their antagonists; so that

Zumalacarregui dared to enter Vittoria, and attacked the Cristino general at Muez. But what principally showed their good state of organisation was the sanguinary action of four hours they sustained at Dos Hermanas.

Several Carlist bands had appeared in Catalonia, the principal one under Plandolit. In Lower Arragon Carnicer, on the death of Ferdinand, in September, 1833, joined the Carlist cause, observing, "I will either lose my head or gain a general's sash." Cabrera was with him in November; he said, "Before long my name shall make a noise in the world." Zavala's head-quarters were at Guernica, in Biscay, whilst Torres watched Bilbao.

THE MODE OF LIFE AT ELIZONDO.—Rise at 6 a.m., take chocolate, then to mass—the more devout take chocolate after mass—which brings one to 8 a.m., from which hour to midday receiving and answering correspondence, much talking and smoking; dinner substantial, and not greasy, with fair wine, the dessert being politics, Church doings, and the cigar; then the siesta until 4 p.m.; business until 6 p.m., when spungy sugar and large glasses of water make their appearance, after partaking of which a ride or walk with the ladies. The tertulia or evening party and the game at tresillo—Spanish whist—follows; 10 p.m., a light supper, with another dose of politics, reference to what the Cristinos are doing, and how they are to be thwarted. Buenos noches.

There was no want of Spanish pride at Elizondo and at times some bombast.

SPECIMENS OF SPANISH PRIDE.

Here was a stone wall twenty-five yards in height, fifty in length, with two tiers of balconies, known as the "Baloones de la Venganza," built by an obstinate Navarrese to obstruct light to his neighbour's house.

The ladies of the Court of Marguerite of Navarre considered God as only the first of French princes. Hidalgo, or Hijo de algo, the son of somebody; Hidalgo de quatro costados, the purity of whose blood is attended by four quarterings.

Henningsen observes as to the following evidence of Castilian pride:—

MOTTO OF THE FAMILY OF BELLASCOS.

Antes que Dios fuese Dios
O que el Sol iluminaba los peñascos,
Ya era Noble la casa de Bellascos.

OR

Before God was God
Or the sun shone upon the rocks,
Already was noble the house of Bellascos.

"Blasphemously ridiculous;" another Castilian saying, —"Si Dios no fuese Dios, seria Rey de las Españas, y él de Francia su cocinero" ("If God were not God he would be King of Spain, and the King of France his cook").

On the 27th the Junta of Navarre had a formal meeting. Only one other deputy, that of Alava, had arrived, when I was put in possession of the following, as to the number of men under arms, the number to be had at a short notice, and the funds required at once. In February, 13,880 men were under arms.

| | HAD | COULD HAVE | WANTED. |
|---|---|---|---|
| Navarre ... ... | 5,000 ... | 10,000 ... | 10,000 |
| Biscay ... ... | 7,000 ... | 10,000 ... | 15,000 |
| Alava ... ... | 2,000 ... | 5,000 ... | 2,000 |
| Guipuzcoa ... | 1,500 ... | 5,000 ... | 2,000 |
| Catalonia ... ... | ... ... | 10,000 ... | 10,000 |
| Arragon ... ... | ... .. | 10,000 ... | 2,000 |
| Under arms | 15,500 men | 50,000 men | 41,000 dollars. |

The Junta of Navarre came out boldly, demanding that what money I had at Bayonne, and what I expected, should be handed to them, and they would distribute it among the provinces. This I objected to, as my instructions were to divide the cash I had the control of in proportion to the number of men under arms in each province, handing the same to the respective Juntas. At this, an old general (a Frenchman), Count Villamur, declared I was insulting the noble Junta of the kingdom of Navarre, and if I had made such observations in Mina's time, he would have shot me. I looked around to see if the other members of the Junta were ready to back the irascible old fellow, and perceived that his conduct was not considered politic. I replied, in a serious tone, that the money in my charge was not the property of a Spaniard, but of a foreigner, and that the present times were those of Carlos Quinto and not those of Mina.

The Cura Echevaria and others considered it prudent to apologise for Villamur's conduct, when it was settled that I was to act according to my instructions, and that the agents of Navarre and Alava would go with me to Bayonne to receive their part, and the other two provinces would send to receive theirs; for it was from Bayonne the Carlists got arms, ammunition, accoutrements, clothing, &c. Thus it was at that place they mostly required cash.

Don Carlos' richer partizans in the provinces had given money for the support of the war, including, of course, ecclesiastical and monastic contributions; and the provincial custom-houses contributed all they received. Very little money went for pay either to officers or men; provisions, arms, and ammunition were supplied them, but money was very, very scarce.

On leaving Elizondo the Cura Echevaria gave me the following note, but not the cash, of his requirements, for me to purchase at Bayonne and bring with me when I returned:—Wafers, gum, tooth-powder, hair-brushes, aromatic vinegar, books for copying letters, fine black cloth for two pairs of trousers, a black frock-coat large size (he was very fat), enough fine black cashmere for a suit, half-a-dozen pairs of ladies' fine white cotton hose, one cotton dress of gingham for a tall and thin person, waist-band, &c. Which commission I did not trouble myself about.

The monjil or monk has no scruples. "Nunca fray modesto fue Provincial" ("a modest monk never became the Provincial of the order").

On the 28th I left for Bayonne. On the journey I heard firing in the direction of Irun, which is on the Spanish side of the river Bidasoa. The Cristinos held the place, but the Carlist Segastibelza was before it.

Arriving at Bayonne, I found £8000 awaiting me, which with the £4000 I had brought made £12,000. Having divided £6000 between the four provinces, the sum asked for, I had still £6000 in cash to meet any orders for payment to Arragon, Catalonia, or elsewhere.

On the 1st July, Lino Ortiz, a trusty agent of Don Carlos, arrived in Bayonne. Baron de Haber had sent him from England under escort of Captain ——, R.N., (a Tory). Ortiz was the bearer of dispatches from Don Carlos to Zumalacarregui and the Juntas, telling how and when he might be expected.

On the following day I took the new arrivals furtively across the frontier to Elizondo. Ortiz delivered the despatches for the Junta, and then went on to Zumalacarregui, who was at Alsasua.

Captain ——, R.N., had instructions to procure information as to what points on the coast of Guipuzcoa and Biscay might be successfully approached by vessels bringing arms, which the Juntas were to attend to.

I soon perceived that the Junta of Navarre was taking too much on itself and often acted without the consent of the others.

I now received special powers from the respective Juntas empowering Baron de Haber to commence his loan operations for Don Carlos, it being stipulated to obtain a full power from "the King," when he had entered Spain.

During the last two days thirty wounded had been brought to Elizondo and placed in the Misericordia Hospital, which was capable of holding from three to four hundred. Donations of beds, provisions, and medicines were sent by the inhabitants.

I discovered that Señor Aznarez, Don Carlos' London agent, was financiering on his own account in Paris as well as in London, the result of which I saw would seriously affect the success of the projected Carlist loan to be negotiated by Baron de Haber.

On the 3rd July, Captain —— and self left Elizondo for Bayonne. On the 5th, Colonel De la Graciniere, an ex-French Carlist officer, arrived, sent by De Haber to Zumalacarregui to advise the early coming of Don Carlos.

On the 7th, the Junta of Navarre requested my immediate presence at Elizondo. By a short cut I was there in a few hours and present at a deliberation the particulars of which they considered Don Carlos should be apprized of before he left England, and begged of me to be the bearer of a despatch to him. This I agreed to and got to Bayonne early the following day, leaving Captain

——, R.N., in charge of my post, and started for Paris that evening, arriving there on the morning of the 12th, when I found Baron de Haber with a partner of a London house, Messrs. G—— & Co., entering into financial arrangements with the French Carlists' banker, M. Jauge. I informed the Baron that I was the bearer of letters from the Junta of Navarre for Don Carlos, when he replied that Don Carlos had arrived in Paris on the 4th, accompanied by M. St. Sylvain, and was then doubtless in Navarre. The next day we had information that Don Carlos had got into Spain on the evening of the 9th. I accompanied Baron de Haber to Señor Calomarde with the news. He looked very thoughtful and hoped for the best. Despatches were sent off to the Legitimist courts with the news of Don Carlos' arrival in Spain.

On the 14th it was rumoured in Paris that Don Carlos was in Navarre; if so, some said that Louis Philippe ought to march troops across the frontier and bring Don Carlos out of Spain. The *Gazette de France*, the Legitimist journal, gave accounts of Don Carlos' arrival amongst his faithful people, &c., and announced that M. Jauge would, with others, have the management of the Carlist loan. This was much to the annoyance of the French Government.

On the 15th, M. Jauge was arrested and sent to prison, his house ransacked, his papers taken possession of, but the contract with M. de Haber for the loan signed "Yo el Rey" ("I, the King") by Don Carlos on his going through Paris, was in the keeping of other parties.

The Baron de Haber found it convenient to leave Paris at once; and I returned south on the 17th with letters for Don Carlos.

On my arrival in Paris I found that the Grey Ministry

had been ousted, which caused many Parisian speculators to go almost mad. The entrance of a Tory Ministry into power was a source of great trouble to the "Juste Milieu." Carlist partizans in Paris were charmed with the change from Whig (Revolutionists) to Tory (Legitimists) (?).

On my route south there was a careful examination of passports by the gendarmes, for nearly every one going to Bayonne was called a "Sacré Carlist."

On the 21st I got to Bayonne. On the following morning I started on foot with a guide by tracks distant from roads to the river Sarre, but did not think it prudent to cross the bridge there, but forded the river above. On the other side two French douaniers arrested and took us to the custom-house at the bridge. The head man there thought I was a great catch, and marched me off to the village of St. Pré, but the mayor was absent. As my passport wanted the Bayonne sous-préfet's signature, I was informed that I must be taken back to that place, as there was a great suspicion of my being a Carlist. I was in fear that my person would be examined, so, complaining of great fatigue, I requested to be allowed to rest there that night, when I found means to secrete my despatches in the roof of my bedroom.

The next morning, in charge of a gendarme, I rode to Bayonne, and was taken to the sous-préfet, who reprimanded me for leaving Bayonne without his visa, at which I bowed and retired.

This same day I met at Bayonne the Marques Villavicencio, one of Don Carlos' suite, whom I had seen not long since in Portugal. I saluted him, when he stoutly denied himself; but, as I persisted, he said he was on the point of joining "the King" with letters from "the Queen," his wife. He also had with him two portman-

teaus of clothes for "His Majesty," which he begged me to take charge of and get conveyed across the frontier.

Early the next morning I started on horseback, escorting "the King's" baggage, by a circuitous route, so as to pass the first custom-house unobserved, and got safely into St. Pré, when I abstracted the letters I had secreted there. I got two men to shoulder the luggage, and two others as guides, one being ahead on the look-out. Thanks to a grand game at Pelota or ball at Sarre, of which the Basques are passionately fond, all the armed douaniers of the district had gone there. We got to the Mojon, or landmark on the frontier, then to Zumuragurdi, Urdach, and Elizondo, when I fell in with Villavicencio, who was pleased to see his royal master's baggage. "Now, who are you?" said I. "Why, your best friend, Villavicencio." We left Elizondo in search of Don Carlos, sleeping at St. Esteban.

The next morning, saddling up, we crossed the mountain range of Subieta, and at noon came to Leysa, just as Don Carlos was journeying to St. Esteban. After Villavicencio had been closeted with him, I had my audience and delivered to him the letters I had been obliged to secrete at St. Pré. As a matter of course I congratulated Don Carlos on his safe arrival in the provinces, and added, that I hoped my services in a financial point of view had met with his approval. "Yes, yes," said he, "you have done very well;" and ordered me to remain in his suite. This I was glad to do, for now I hoped to see for myself the effect of his arrival in the provinces.

On our journey I had a long conversation with the Cruzmayor, acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, who discoursed most freely on official matters. There were also the always-angry-looking Villamur, now acting Minister of War, on

whom I did not bestow my confidence, since he had intimated that I ought to have been shot; my old companion, St. Sylvain (now Baron de los Valles), who was made prisoner with me at Vigo, and who did not now give me a very friendly greeting; the Marquis Valdespina, Generals Eraso and Segastibelza, the Cura Echevaria (now the royal chaplain), and others.

Although it rained in torrents, the bells of the churches we passed were ringing; the music of the tabor and fife was heard; drapery hung out of the windows, children were shouldering sticks, soldiers bounding over the hills and mountains like deer, and as night approached torches blazed to light our way. Zumalacarregui was posted not far off, awaiting Rodil's advance.

### ESCAPE OF DON CARLOS FROM ENGLAND TO SPAIN.

Several plans were suggested with the object of getting Don Carlos into Spain. One was that he should go from England to the north coast in an armed steamer, which could have landed him and many followers, arms, and ammunition, and have kept at a distance, for a sufficient length of time, Cristino men-of-war even, if such came in sight. However, Don Carlos made up his mind to go secretly with M. St. Sylvain through France.

Don Carlos,* accompanied by Manuel Aznarez arrived at No. 58, Welbeck Street, the residence of M. Charles Bourjot, on the evening of the 1st July (1834). He began his disguise by cutting away his moustache. Madame Bourjot dyed his hair. The Bishop of Leon came, beseeching him to postpone his departure. "No!"

* See "Career of Don Carlos," by Baron de los Valles, 1835.

replied the King, "I feel something here," striking his breast, "which tells me that the undertaking will be prosperous; and, in order that God may protect it, I request your blessing." At midnight Don Carlos left London with M. St. Sylvain, arriving at Brighton early in the morning. An hour afterwards they left for Dieppe, putting up at Clark's hotel. The next morning onwards to Paris, alighting at Meurice's hotel at 3 a.m. on the 4th. At 7 a.m. they went to the house of Count Lacroix, thence to that of M. Jauge, when Don Carlos put his "Yo el Rey" ("I, the King,") to the contract for De Haber's loan. At 8 p.m. they started, and on passing the spot where Louis XVI. was beheaded, Don Carlos observed, "Revolutions only do the work of destruction; they possess not the germ of reconstruction; in my native land they have shaken that Spanish Monarchy so powerful, and have plunged the country into the most cruel anarchy." They saw Louis Philippe and his family proceeding to Neuillé. St. Sylvain observed to Don Carlos that he seemed fatigued, to which he replied, "The days when the Kings of Spain reposed in the cool shades of the Escurial are far from us, and it will be long ere they again return. I fear that my reign will be a continual war against revolution; happy if I live long enough to repair the evils it has accumulated in Spain."

Don Carlos went to the house of the Marquis Lalande at Bayonne, when Detroyat of the Hotel St. Etienne was sent for to arrange for passing them over the frontier. The next morning, the 9th, they started, and joined their guides, Senhor Cruz (Dom Miguel's ex-Consul at Bayonne) and M. Rivet (ex-body-guard of Charles X.) They dined at Sarre, and at 6 p.m. crossed the frontier, Don Carlos incognito as a Russian ambassador. The following day

they breakfasted at Ariscum, and on arrival at Elizondo on the 12th he made himself known. The next day, Don Carlos and Zumalacarregui reviewed six battalions of infantry and three squadrons of cavalry.

On the day of departure from England Don Carlos, as King of Spain, handed to St. Sylvain a warrant appointing him Baron de los Valles.

We learn from Mariana,* that Don Carlos' wife, the proud Doña Francisca, decided the various opinions of Don Carlos' vacillating counsellors, saying, "He who aspires to place a crown on his brows by force must not look at dangers, but only at the possibility of his success." Zumalacarregui presented him on his arrival with an army of 35 battalions of infantry, 5 squadrons of cavalry, 8 pieces of artillery, and 2 mortars. It much surprised the Cristinos when they heard that Don Carlos was in the provinces, for no one supposed he had so much resolution. "Don Carlos in Spain," said Martinez de la Rosa; "it is only one more *faccioso*."

On the 26th Don Carlos was writing all day. In the evening he sent for me, and good-humouredly complained that De Haber had promised to have had £40,000 by the 15th inst. for his service at Bayonne, but that £10,000 only had been received. I begged respectfully to observe that the amount was £12,000, and had come out of Baron de Haber's pocket, and that this sum had been handed over on the 28th ult., and if more money had not been remitted it was in consequence of some cash having to be paid in London, part purchase for a war steamer for His Majesty's service, also to defray other outlays in the conveyance of many of his followers both by sea and land to

* "His. de España," vol. iii., p. 358.

the provinces; but that the most serious business, the management of the projected loan, was not entirely in De Haber's hands, which had caused delay in bringing it out, and, to make things worse, M. Amedé Jauge, the Legitimist banker in Paris, had been arrested by the French Government, so that the loan could not be brought out in France, but that De Haber was on his way to Holland to negotiate it there.

About this time the following *on-dit* was going the round of the camp. Quite recently Rodil, now called the blood-hound after Don Carlos, had drawn his sword on one of his officers for not exterminating a body of Navarrese troops he had lately been engaged with. The officer drew his sword, a third stepped in and prevented a difficulty, but the insulted officer told Rodil that exterminating the Navarrese was easier said than done, and that he himself had better show them how to do it.

*Sunday, 27th.*—After mass Don Carlos sent for me, and said that, in regard to our late conversation, and as De Haber would negotiate the loan in Holland, he thought he would write a letter to a high personage there, and wished me to be the bearer of the same. I could only bow assent. However, I was much disappointed in having to leave the provinces, for I had hoped to have been present at an expected fight with the Cristinos under Rodil.

We heard that the cholera was raging in Madrid; that there was great political disturbance; and that about one hundred monks had been slaughtered by the populace, it was said, for poisoning the water of the fountains. This information threw Don Carlos and his surrounding into intense excitement.

The Cortes* was opened on the 24th July by the Queen, and Madrid became excited in favour of the Government. Still the increase of cholera, particularly in the capital, produced various kinds of feelings. It was rumoured that the cholera occasioned fewer deaths than those caused by the monks poisoning the water of the fountains. It was sufficient that a boy was found near the fountain at the Puerta del Sol with a paper containing a powder, the supposed poison—the populace attacked the Jesuits' College, in the Calle de Toledo, killing all they met with. The convents of S. Francisco el Grande and S. Tomas were entered, and great was the slaughter, by shot, sabre, and poinard. About one hundred fell, and this in presence of the authorities. The urban militia demanded vengeance on the murderers, and, after five months, a lad of eighteen was executed, against whom there was no grave charge. The *manolas*, or lower order of women of Madrid, rivalled the Parisian *poissardes*, and the shaven regular was slain in his robes at the altar.

I had an audience to take leave of Don Carlos, when he said at parting, "I bear in mind what you did for me in Portugal, and be assured that I will not forget your present services." I received my despatches, also letters for Don Carlos' wife, to leave in Paris with a trusty agent, and a letter from Don Carlos to "El Rey de Olanda."

In the afternoon I left the "Real" or royal headquarters, being accompanied by a mounted escort as far as the frontier, and then proceeded over by-roads to a house near Sarre, where I slept, arriving the next day at Bayonne.

* Mariana, vol. iii., p. 357.

Whilst in the Carlist country I heard this chorus to the soldiers' song:—

"Viva la pas! viva la union!
Viva la pas! y Don Carlos Borbon!"

OR

"Let us have peace! let us have union!
Let us have peace, and Carlos the Bourbon!"

I arrived in Paris on the morning of the 2nd of August, and learnt that Baron de Haber was in Antwerp and that M. Jauge was still in prison.

At a waxwork exhibition, the newest figures were those of Don Carlos, the Cura Merino, and Zumalacarregui.

Seeing that I had been travelling with a passport in my own name *twice* from Paris to Bayonne, and knowing that persons from the south were narrowly watched, and as I had to go a long distance through France and some portion of Belgium, I secreted my said passport, and got one in another name from the British Embassy. Thus I felt rather more secure.

On the 5th I left Paris for the new kingdom of Belgium under Leopold of Saxe-Coburg, and on the 8th came up with Baron de Haber at Antwerp, who told me that we must be off at once to Holland, for he had been informed that the Belgian police had been instructed by the French Government to arrest him and all parties connected with the Carlists. We started secretly that evening for Holland, and soon crossed the frontier, which was well guarded by the Dutch army.

Some said that the army was on the frontier to prevent the people in this part of Holland going over to Belgium; that the King of Holland was too much imbued with Russian ideas to manage the Flemish, now Belgians, who had a good neighbour in the King of the French, and, moreover, friends among the Liberals in England.

## CHAPTER VII.

Don Carlos' letter to King of Holland—Dutch politics—Amsterdam—Rodil hunting after Don Carlos—Carlist loan of five millions—Cristinos take the 'Isabella-Maria' with many Carlist officers—Rodil orders convent of Aranzazua to be burnt; Zumalacarregui's revenge—Carlists wish to exchange prisoners; Rodil shoots his; reprisals; Conde Vilamanuel shot—Ouvrard meddling with De Haber's loan—Dutch volunteers—Death of Don Carlos' wife at Portsmouth—Carlist successful attack on Carandolet—Ponce de Leon shot by Carlists as a spy and assassin—Don Carlos swears to the "fueros" at Guernica—De Haber's loan suspended, but Don Carlos displeased with the Ouvrard proceedings—Monetary matters—I go to London—Don Carlos annuls Ouvrard's scheme—Charles X.—I return to Holland; financial confusion; I return to London begging the Bishop of Leon to be loyal—Carlists not successful—Loan difficulties; my advice to the Bishop—I leave for Holland and advise the Baron to give up the loan—Carnicer and Cabrera in Arragon—Don Sebastian to take command in Catalonia; he escapes out of Spain; Romagosa shot—Cristino loan; they get money—My letter to Bishop of Leon—The Courts of —— and —— send funds to Don Carlos—Commencement of disunion in the provinces—Los Valles arrested and imprisoned in France—Carlist old and new politics—King of Naples recognises Carlos V.—Zumalacarregui's great and successful battle at Vittoria; O'Doyle shot; terrible slaughter; Osma beaten; flies to Vittoria; Cristino prisoners put to death to prevent escape!—Carlist loan in the market—Zumalacarregui has his eye on Madrid—He passes the Ebro; takes a convoy; his cavalry routed; he leads them to "victory or death;" is successful—Severities of Rodil and Mina—Carlists burn church of Villafranca—Baron de Haber goes to Paris, I to London—Carlists defeated at Mendaca; they beat the Cristinos at Arquijas; Zumalacarregui drives Mina into Pamplona.

Baron de Haber went onwards. An order was sent the following day from the head-quarters of the Dutch army

under command of the Prince of Orange,* for self, courier, and baggage. So I turned in early in the morning at a comfortable inn for a quiet sleep, which I had not had for some time past. I proceeded to Breda, a garrison city full of troops, thence by Rotterdam to the Hague, the political capital of Holland, Amsterdam being the commercial. Here I came up with M. de Haber.

The letter I had brought from Don Carlos for "El Rey de Olanda," was presented to the King, and I was assured that its contents would receive every consideration.

We left for Amsterdam, arriving on the 12th of August.

The police system of France and Belgium was that of Holland, and since the war with Belgium it had been very strict. Should a foreigner wish to remain any time, he had to obtain permission and present himself every fourteen days before the police. If he meddled with politics he was asked to move off. However, foreigners came to Holland for commercial purposes. The Constitutional (?) maxim was "Fear God and honour the King." I was informed that His Majesty of the Netherlands had an interest in all good speculations, and that little was allowed to be done without the royal permission.

On the principal canals resided the moneyocracy; but the blue sky and gondolas of Venice were wanting to make the Dutch canals interesting. "Guilders and florins" one heard spoken of at every step; still the useful arts and sciences were cultivated. Politics had an unsteady character; the separation of Belgium was distasteful, taxation very considerable, and every one seemed to be hoarding cash for a stormy day. Holland was not the place for

* It was only in 1839 that a treaty of peace was signed between Holland and Belgium.

the idler or the fashionable; here living was dearer than in London or Paris. Now that the war with Belgium might be said to be over, the more wealthy Dutch would go to Antwerp and Brussels; a few would extend their journey to Paris and London.

On the 31st July General Zumalacarregui had surprised Rodil at Artaza, causing him a loss of 250 in killed and wounded, and 500 prisoners. The Cristinos say Rodil had 7000 infantry and 200 horse. Fatigued by their marches, and the heat of the day, they were tranquilly stretched on the ground, confiding in the vigilance of their advance.

Rodil divided his force into small parties and was doing his best to lay hold of Don Carlos. Louis Philippe allowed Cristino troops to cross and re-cross the frontier when they found it convenient. On the 21st August General Armildez wrote: "I am making a search in the fastnesses of Anviain, for I suspect the Pretender is there." Once he was near catching Don Carlos in the mountains of Anchoa in company with Eraso and some priests.

The wife of Zumalacarregui had crossed the frontier to place her children at Ainoa. She was arrested and sent with other Carlists to Bordeaux.

The 21st August Baron de Haber issued the "Emprunt-Royal d'Espagne pour S. M. le Roi Carlos V.," for five millions sterling at 65 per cent., in subscriptions of £40, bearing 5 per cent. interest. The Government of His Most Catholic Majesty engaged all the revenues of Spain. That portion which had acknowledged the King's authority—Navarre, Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Alava—engaged all their property. M. Jauge had announced this loan in Paris; but as he was under arrest (was liberated 2nd Nov. following) he could not bring it out, so the subscriptions were signed by Baron de Haber, of Carlsruhe, and a

Royal Commissioner,* and stamped with the Royal arms of Spain; the necessary documents being deposited with the bankers, Messrs. De Lepel, Labouchere, and Co., of Amsterdam,

General Moreno had taken Balbastro in Arragon; the Cura Merino with a large body of followers was harassing the Cristinos in Castile; Don Carlos was near Bilbao with 6000 men under Zavala; but what was unfavourable was that the 'Isabella Maria,' having on board some thirty Carlist officers, arms and ammunition, sent from England by the Princess of Beira and the Bishop of Leon, had been taken by Captain Henry, commanding the 'Royal Tar,' in the Cristino service, on the north coast of Spain.†

Rodil,‡ disappointed at not making Don Carlos his prisoner, on the 18th August marched upon Oñate with 10,000 men, ordering Jauregui (El Pastor) and his Peceteros§ to burn the convent of Aranzazua, saying, "Those bald-headed friars shall now receive the reward of their contumacy." Jauregui refused to obey. Rodil gave one

* As there was delay in appointing the Commissioner, the Author became the deputy.

† These officers would have been shot, but for the interference of Lord John Hay and the officer who captured them. They were imprisoned for a year at Corunna, then sent to Porto Rico, where some escaped. A Carlist officer, Arana, and five or six others were on the look-out for the 'Isabella Maria;' they mistook the 'Perla,' Spanish man-of-war, for her, went on board, were made prisoners and shot.

‡ "Walton," vol. ii., p. 268.

§ The "Peceteros" were irregular Cristino Volunteers in Navarre, so called from receiving a peceta (about a shilling) daily, or four times the pay of the line; they were a daring set of scouts and plunderers. To cope with these Zumalacarregui instituted the "Partidas." He had a useful body of "Aduaneros," armed customs' officers; also his "Confidantes," or spies, and who carried his letters. The Cristino irregulars in Catalonia were the Miquelites; Salvaguardias in Biscay, and Chapelgorris in Guipuzcoa.

Inurrigarro sealed instructions not to be opened till he had taken possession of the convent. After being entertained, the superior, on wishing the officer good night, was told, "I am about to set fire to the place; my orders are to see it reduced to ashes." The friars were ordered to pack up and remove their private property, which was afterwards stolen by the peceteros. The convent was sacrificed. The friars were despatched two-and-two to certain convents in distant provinces, when the cholera raged in almost every part of the country south of the Ebro. Some thirty in number in time joined the Carlists; others, found deviating for the road, were imprisoned or transported to the tropics.*

On the 19th, Zumalacarregui punished this act of Rodil's. He took twelve companies, posting them in ambush between the heights of Eraul, where he knew an enemy's column was about to pass under Carandolet. "Adelante muchachos" ("Forward, boys!"), and in an instant the mountaineers rushed onwards, bayonets fixed, and after one discharge closed with the enemy's centre, which was taken by surprise; then wheeling to the right and left, made great havoc among the fugitives.

Carandolet, with a detachment of cavalry and 700 infantry, was escorting a large convoy from Estella to Pamplona, the whole of which fell into the hands of the

* Two of my acquaintances, Barrena and Padre Larraga, I was informed were among the victims. The padre and other friars were tied two-and-two; Barrena to a young man, who told him he should try a run for it, for he felt sure they would be shot on arrival at Pamplona. At nightfall they slipped their cords and broke. Barrena was captured and shot with the padre and many others at Pamplona. The wife of Colonel Florencio Sanz was taken; she pretended to be dumb, and was set free. Padre Larraga had known Wellington, and spoke most kindly of the "Great Lord."

Carlists, and, besides muskets, was found to consist of clothes, baggage, and musical instruments. The slaughter was great.

Zumulacarregui wished to exchange the prisoners taken on this occasion, including the youthful Conde Vilamanuel, but received from Rodil a letter in reply on this subject: "The rebels taken have suffered death already." "Conde," said Zumalacarregui, "I wished to spare you and others . . . . choose your confessor—farewell!"

The Cristino authorities corroborate the above, and add that more than 250 of their adherents fell, including Brigadier Errauz; also that the Carlists secured a rich booty; and that on the side of the Carlists the loss was only 1 killed and 10 wounded. Zumalacarregui, however, seeing very superior forces approach, retired to Galdeano; but he had won the day, and retired with six hundred cargoes of baggage.

The Baron de Haber had only commenced his loan negotiations on the 21st August, and by the 2nd of September a French Legitimist, Baron Bordigny, and M. Franchessin (in connection with Ouvrard of Paris) came to Amsterdam. They had been to London and persuaded the Bishop of Leon that they could raise any amount of funds for Don Carlos had they his financial operations in their hands. M. de Haber's reply to these parties was, that if they could convince him of their ability to raise funds, he would be no obstacle in their way. So they occupied themselves in ascertaining how capitalists in Holland would enter into their views.

After three or four years' service the Schutterey or volunteers returned home, some to Amsterdam, but not from a victorious campaign; for, with the military assistance of Louis Philippe and the moral support of England, William

of Orange had been shorn now of Flanders. The city turned out to welcome the troops; and in the evening there were illuminations, supperings, considerable imbibings, and pot-valiant speeches.

On the 8th was received the intelligence of the rather sudden death, on the 4th September, of Don Carlos' wife, at Alverstoke Rectory, near Portsmouth, from a severe attack of bilious fever.

Doña Maria Francisca de Assis of Braganza and Borbon, born in 1800, left Portugal for Brazil in 1808 with her father Dom John VI. Returning to Europe she became the wife of Don Carlos. One of her sisters was Ferdinand VII.'s queen; another, the Princess of Beira, the wife of the Infante Carlos Pedro.

Her sons, Carlos, Ferdinand, and Juan, the Princess of Beira, and the Bishop of Leon, were with her when she died. "She was inconsolable, not being permitted to die in Spain near her husband, to whom she wrote a few lines by way of adieu. In this letter she requested pardon for any uneasiness she might involuntarily have occasioned him, and commended herself to his prayers." Her remains were deposited in the Catholic chapel at Gosport, to be removed to the convent of nuns of S. Francisco de Sales at Orihuela in Valencia, which she had founded.*

M. de Haber received pressing letters from Don Carlos for funds, arms, and a war-steamer. He was doing his best to obtain subscriptions to his loan, but got little taken except by those who sympathised in the cause of legitimacy. The arrival in Holland of the Ouvrard party, who wished to take the management of the Carlist loan out of his hands, hampered him; and he

* 1869. I am told that the remains are still at Gosport.

would have given it up had he believed they could have successfully carried out any form of loan.

On the 4th September Carandolet was near Logroño, on the Ebro, with 1200 infantry and 600 horse. Zumalacarregui had four battalions of Navarrese and his lancers. At the first shock the Cristino infantry dispersed, and their cavalry made no resistance. The chasseurs of the Royal Guard surrendered and their Colonel was killed. The loss of the Cristinos was 400 killed. Over 100 prisoners were taken, also 200 horses and 500 muskets.

The Cristinos observe:* "Zumalacarregui again covered himself with new laurels, the Carlist cavalry completely dispersing Carandolet's division. Full of terror, some got that night to Logroño, others to Lodosa, and a few to Mendavia on the Ebro."

The following was received: "One Ponce de Leon was shot for attempting to poison Don Carlos. It was said he had been sent by the Marquis Miraflores, the Spanish Ambassador in London."

Among the several attempts on Don Carlos' life this is remarkable.† On the 11th of July, 1834, Vicente Ponce de Leon, formerly a lawyer of Granada, came to London. He addressed himself to the King's agent (Don Miguel Aznarez). He professed his zeal for the cause of legitimacy, and declared that he wished to serve it. Though he had been in Portugal under suspicious circumstances at the time Don Carlos was there, his present protestations were received with (apparent) confidence. He was furnished with a letter to the provinces.‡ Ponce de Leon,

* Mariana, vol. iii., p. 362.

† Walton, vol. ii., p. 291.

‡ But about the 25th July information was sent by Aznarez to Don Carlos to be on his guard.

not imagining he was suspected, crossed the frontier on the 17th August. On his arrival at Elizondo he was received with apparent cordiality. He was detected trying the effects of poison on a dog. He expressed a wish to be allowed a personal conference with the King, and when on the point of proceeding to the interior he was arrested. On his person was found (besides a considerable sum of money) a public passport, under a feigned name, signed by the Marquis de Miraflores; a safe-conduct, signed by the same, to enable the bearer not merely to traverse the Cristino territory, but also to receive protection; and lastly, a receipt for the preparation of a poison. He was immediately tried, and, his guilt being fully established, was shot as a spy and assassin.

The *Gazette de France* gave publicity to the matter, alluding to the passport and safe-conduct given him by the Marquis de Miraflores, who replied to the *Gazette* most bombastically from Brighton, September 13th, 1834, and also sent a letter of same date to the Bishop of Leon, the postscript to this being, "The answer to my house in London, Portland Place, No. 51, if you think this deserving of one." Miraflores was shortly afterwards removed from his appointment at the Court of St. James's.

In the month of September, Don Carlos, accompanied by his generals, by a deputation from Biscay, and by the principal inhabitants of Guernica, went through the ceremony of swearing to preserve the Fueros, or franchises of Biscay, under the old oak of Guernica.*

* Here was held the parliament of the Basques under an ancient oak, one of which was very old in 1344, under which Ferdinand and Isabella swore in 1476 to uphold the "Fueros." (In July, 1865, Isabella II., being at Bermeo, asked for a branch of the "holy tree of the liberties of Biscay." Two were cut and offered to the Royal visitor, when she said to

About the middle of September, in consequence of pressing letters from the Bishop of Leon (induced by the Ouvrard party), "instructed by Don Carlos," Baron de Haber agreed to suspend for the present his negotiation of the Carlist loan, the object being to see what Ouvrard, Franchessin, and their friends could do.

I accompanied the Baron to Rotterdam, to communicate with Señor Manuel Aznarez, who was on his way to the Legitimist Courts, begging for funds. He had signatures in blank from Don Carlos and the Bishop of Leon for any negotiation that offered.

The Baron de Haber received letters from Don Carlos, saying how displeased he was with the Bishop of Leon and the Ouvrard-Franchessin loan proceedings, and that he saw no difficulty in agreeing to De Haber's idea for recognising the financial acts of Ferdinand VII., in the hope, by so doing, of giving credit to his own monetary affairs.

"If* the supply of arms, &c., promised by Baron de Haber, who contracted the loan, had arrived in time, no doubt the rising would have been general, and we should then have been on our march to Madrid. Two millions of francs were yet to come, there having been no more than 200,000 francs received." In reply, I have to observe that, had De Haber not been hampered by French *intermédiaires*, including Los Valles, his loan would have been more productive. As to the rising being general, and the march to Madrid, these were mere windy words. There

General Urquiza, "Take this branch and preserve it for my sake. I assure you that as these two branches," pointing to that destined for the King-Consort, "belonged to the same tree, so shall our ideas be one respecting this tree." Urquiza replied, "This branch, placed in a frame, bearing the precious words uttered by your Majesty, will be the ornament of the chamber in which we are assembled [!] )"

* Los Valles, p. 241.

were large divisions of Cristinos in Don Carlos' front; the population were not prepared to rise in mass for him; Louis Philippe's troops were in his rear; the Queen had the whole of the Spanish navy and command of the coast; England was almost dead against him; and the Legitimist Powers would not come boldly out in his favour. De Haber had sent to the provinces and made disbursements to this time for Don Carlos to an amount of nearly 1,500,000 francs.

Towards the end of September I went to London to acquaint the Princess of Beira and the Bishop of Leon of the error that had been committed in admitting the Ouvrard-Franchessin party into their councils; their inability to procure funds, and that they would not be over scrupulous in keeping Carlist information secret. The Princess, the three Infantes, and the Bishop resided at 16, Mansfield Street, Cavendish Square.

In a day or so the Bishop informed me that Don Carlos had annulled the Franchessin "deceptive scheme of Spanish Rentes," and that a document to that effect had been sent to M. de Haber. What with the want of funds in the provinces, the death of Don Carlos' wife, and other affairs pressing on him, the Bishop was beside himself. His surrounding were continually suggesting, but they had not the means to extricate him from his difficulties. I paid my respects to the Princess on arrival, and on my departure she looked very thoughtful and hoped that funds would be sent to the provinces.

The ex-king of France, Charles X., was not unmindful of the necessitous circumstances of Don Carlos and his family. After the departure of Don Carlos, and the death of his wife, Charles X. was very kind, particularly in the way of funds to the Princess and the Infantes.

I left London on the 28th for Amsterdam, where I found such financial confusion between M. de Haber and the Franchessin party, that on the night of the 30th I returned to London to inform the Bishop of Leon that if he did not loyally support Don Carlos' decrees and M. de Haber, no more money could be forthcoming from the loan. The Bishop promised to act as desired. I remained in London.

After Carandolet's defeat of 4th September little occurred beyond skirmishing. The Cristinos say that Guibelalde made an impetuous attack, at the same time, on the garrison of Vergara in Guipuzcoa, but had to retire. On the 13th the Carlists in Biscay made two unsuccessful attacks at Bermeo on the coast. On the 18th the Carlists Castor and Sopelana attacked Villarcayo on the Ebro, in the hope of making it an advanced post for invading Castile, which they did not effect.

Zumalacarregui himself was not more fortunate on the Cristino post of Echarri-Aranaz, although one of the officers had turned traitor and opened the gates. The Carlists advanced, but behaved so badly that Zumalacarregui shot two of them.

On the 1st October appeared in the *Handlesblad* newspaper of Amsterdam a letter from Franchessin of 30th September, with the Bishop of Leon's letter of 23rd to M. de Haber, requesting him to discontinue his loan operations; also a letter of the Bishop's of 27th, telling M. de Haber to proceed!

On the 5th, Franchessin came to London and commenced law proceedings against the Bishop for "his claims." He was worried by others—one a Count Croui (a friend of Los Valles), M. Capelle, French ex-Consul-General, Señor Canelas, Calomarde, some city people who had lent him

funds, and by his eternally jabbering advisers. "What am I to do in this pestiferous whirlwind?" asked the Bishop. "Señor Obispo, you must listen to all, and reply as Don Carlos does—Bien, bien, veremos! Tell them to return to-morrow or the day after; by that time you may be in a position to take action in one way or other—or have a diplomatic indisposition requiring a few days' change at the sea-side." He was not the man in the right place. That same evening I was at a dinner-party of Spanish, French, and Portuguese Legitimists at M. Charles Bourjot's, 58, Welbeck Street, and heard from the host and his wife how they had managed to disguise (already detailed) Don Carlos for his escape from London.

The Bishop of Leon sent for me on the 7th, but I could not get to him before the afternoon, when he was having his siesta, for he dined at 2 p.m. I called in the evening and found that Franchessin was stoutly importuning him for some consideration for the trouble, &c., he had been at in connection with the "Rente" scheme. I advised the Bishop to notify to him that he should have a gratification, which would keep him from talking and writing against Carlist affairs. I informed the Bishop that I was returning next day to Amsterdam, and pressed upon him to keep from any new financial arrangements, until he saw that De Haber could not possibly succeed. I got as answer the usual "Bien, bien, bien!" I left London and met Baron de Haber at the Hague, who informed me that he had just received a new decree from Don Carlos to continue his loan, but that the names of M. Jauge of Paris and Messrs. G—— & Co. of London had been introduced as contractors with him, which the Baron did not consider judicious, seeing that little or nothing could be done, either in Paris or London, for the loan. Here was dis-

trust, and complications must follow. I suggested to him that the management of the loan should be handed over at once to M. Jauge and Messrs. G——. The Baron would have done this, but he felt that the "Causa" would at once suffer politically, also financially—then he was really a Legitimist.

The Carlist insurrectionists in Arragon and Valencia had made a serious stand, for Carnicer had now with him the rising chief Ramon Cabrera.

It was a serious question who should be the Carlist commander in Catalonia, and, to sever rivalries, Don Carlos decided on his nephew, Don Sebastian, having General Romagosa with him. The Cristinos write that, after the reverse at Mayals, the insurrection in Catalonia was frustrated, when the Canon Tristany, Ros de Eroles, Vilella, Piera, Llarch de Coupons, El Muchacho Boquica, and others retired to their several districts, not wishing to serve under Plandolit.

Don Sebastian left Madrid with Don Carlos in 1833, but returned and acknowledged Isabella II., at which his mother, the Princess of Beira, had a most violent correspondence with him; the result was he entered into Carlist views, going to Barcelona in July (1834), supposing that having sworn fealty to Isabella would protect him there; however, Llauder, who was made aware of Carlist projects, was about laying hold of Don Sebastian, when he escaped and in November joined Don Carlos in Navarre. Romagosa came from Genoa by sea to the port of S. Salvador, commencing operations. Llauder was on the watch, took him prisoner, and four days afterwards shot him; then the Carlist colonel Saperas', *alias* Caragol's, band dispersed.

The Cristino Government was *financiering*, and would get money; their present loan was for 400,000,000 reals

=£4,000,000. The Spaniard when he talks of "millions," means reales, or twopences; a Frenchman, francs, or tenpences; the Yankee, dollars, five to a pound; but an Englishman's million is the solid pound sterling=100 reales.

The Baron de Haber was doing his best to issue his loan again, which had been damaged by, as he called it, the "Ouvrard-Franchessin tripotage."

Under date of 10th October (1834), I wrote the following from the Hague to the Bishop of Leon, then in London:—

"Reverend and Dear Sir,—To thwart intrigues and projected robberies, I went twice in one week from Holland to England. His Majesty's decrees and your instructions are continually frustrated by French intrigues. It is clearly to be seen that those (the Cristino party) who have been and will be put in possession of information by Ouvrard and Franchessin will do their best to damage the interests of His Majesty. The Princess of Beira is much chagrined that M. de Haber, who has done, and is still doing, his best, is to be at the mercy of people without honour, which if continued must prevent any success of His Majesty's loan. At present there are more than twenty persons who claim a right to act in the matter of the loan. The loan is a subject between His Majesty and Baron de Haber; and no one can accuse him of mercenary views, for he is sustaining his political bias. Let me beg of you to be most careful in the adoption of any new financial measure that may be presented to you."

The Bishop replied on the 16th that M. de Haber should have fair play.

We had now several Carlist officers with us on their way from Hamburg to Spain, including Colonel Bellen-

gero, two brothers Cabañas, two Arjonas, who trusted that Don Carlos would go somewhat with the times, and not have too many Absolutos and Churchmen about him. These officers and others had been left by Don Carlos in Portugal; they had been sent to Hamburg, and were now on their way to join him.

A sum of money had been sent from the Legitimist courts to Don Carlos, and more was promised.

Zumalacarregui left Los Arcos on the 11th October, crossed the Ebro at Tronco Negro, pounced on Amor's vanguard, and re-crossed the Ebro at Bastida with a supply of several thousand muskets, stores, and provisions he had taken.

There was already a want of concert in the "court and camp of Don Carlos." The courtiers had to be careful as regarded Zumalacarregui, who was not on good terms with the Cura Echevaria and Valdespina. Don Carlos was induced to take the command in Biscay, when on the 9th he ordered Zavala and Valdespina to oppose Espartero, who occupied a hill in advance of Plencia, on the coast of Biscay. *These orders were not obeyed.* Determined to exert his authority, he directed Eraso to lead the attack, when the position was carried. Eraso sought to draw Espartero out of his entrenchments, but not succeeding, he passed to Bilbao, in the hope of being followed.

About this time Los Valles left the provinces for Paris, supposed to be upon a financial tour. He was arrested by the police and kept in prison for several months, on the plea that he had travelled through France (when he took Don Carlos through) with a false passport. During his forced retirement he wrote "Un Chapitre de l'Histoire de Charles V." Los Valles is a fierce partizan writer;

however, the "Explanatory Documents" attached to his volume are useful references.

I had opportunities of listening to the political discussions of the Carlist officers in Holland. Some trusted that Don Carlos would lose no time in looking at the state of affairs in Spain as they really were, namely, that of comparative progress, and would meet Spain on something of its own terms. Others went blindly in for Don Carlos and the Santa Religion. Some came boldly out, that Don Carlos should be at once instructed to examine how the conventual, monastic, and even much of the great wealth of the Church had been obtained; that nunneries and monasteries should be the resort of the old, not the young; that public schools should be plentifully established; that the professors at the universities should be laymen; that every nerve should be strained to put the payment of national debts in a creditable position; that funds should not be raised by wholesale confiscations of private property, &c.,—the most important of these etceteras being that the present civil war had devastated Spain long enough, and that measures should be commenced by influential and reasonable people on both sides, to see if young Don Carlos and Isabella II. could not be brought together. This was called treason by the ultra-Carlists.

Difficulties had commenced in the provinces through the dismissal of Zavala and Valdespina, and their Biscayan followers said they would not put up with the undue interference of the Navarrese.

The King of Naples, backed up by Austria (but Austria did not similarly come out) recognised Don Carlos as King of Spain.

We now come to Zumalacarregui's brilliant success of the 27th and 28th October, between Salvatierra and

Vittoria. The Cristinos* on the 27th, under O'Doyle, appeared with 3000 men. Zumalacarregui came on boldly but slowly. When assured that Ituralde was in their rear, he advanced a handful of mountaineers against a division of the regular army. The burning of villages and massacre of their wounded had worked up the Carlists into great excitement. "At them! death to the Queen!" was shouted; also the Basque cry of "Arreyua!" ("By the thunderbolt!") The Guides charged upon the 6th of the line, when the whole column gave way; at the same time Ituralde appeared in the rear. A terrible massacre ensued. About 1000 were killed. Fifty Carlists were killed. The prisoners were ordered to be pardoned; but O'Doyle, his brother, a captain, and some officers were shot. O'Doyle, a few days before, had given his vote to shoot wounded prisoners.

On the 28th, Osma sallied from Vittoria with 5000 men. He had scarcely time to form when his right and left wings were attacked with the greatest impetuosity. The recruits and national guard gave way and carried confusion into the division. Osma escaped. The slaughter became very great, when Zumalacarregui cried loudly to give quarter. He was obeyed. The Cristinos lost 600 killed and 600 prisoners; of the Carlists, 100 were killed.

Eighty to one hundred fresh prisoners were brought in captured under the walls of Vittoria. Two of these escaped, when the captain in command sent to Zumalacarregui to say he had only 30 men to guard the prisoners. "Get cords," said the general. There were none. "Then put them to death." The captain, who was one of Mina's

* Mainly from Henningsen, who was present.

school, slaughtered his prisoners! Among the spoils of the two days' fight were, 2 field pieces, colours of the African regiments, over 3000 muskets, and nearly as many Carlists obtained fresh clothing. More than 600 Cristinos joined the Carlist ranks. The Carlist chief went to Oñate to lay the trophies of his two victories at the feet of Don Carlos. He piqued himself on risking as little as possible, and striking his blows with certainty. The Cristino account nearly corroborates the Carlist version.

Baron de Haber succeeded in inducing Messrs. Saportas and Westendorp to re-open the Carlist loan on the 4th November at 65 per cent. in four payments at various periods. With the late Carlist successes in the provinces it was thought that capitalists would be disposed to come forward.

Louis Philippe had just changed his Ministry, so as to pass the budget quietly, but they soon resigned. He was about liberating Prince Polignac. Still his throne was looked upon as rather shaky. William IV. was getting Wellington to form a Ministry.

Zumalacarregui had long projected an expedition into Castile, to prepare his way to march south. Madrid was to be the prize. He was, however, generally uneasy as to French intervention, when it suited the easy changing policy of Louis Philippe, in the event of which a French auxiliary force could have come upon his rear at any time.

On the 31st October Zumalacarregui * passed the Ebro at Tronago, and having learnt that Colonel Amor was escorting a convoy he turned towards Logroño. Arrived at Fuenmayor he plunged into action. The Cristino cavalry dispersed, abandoning the convoy, while the

* Los Valles, p. 252.

infantry surrendered. The cavalry, however, formed again in the plain, and made a spirited onslaught, compelling the lancers of Navarre to retire. Furious at this, Zumalacarregui flew to his men, and vowed to lead them to victory or death. At the first shock the Cristinos dispersed and fifty of them fell.

Rodil had been severity itself to all he suspected of Carlism. The cholera had broken out among his troops, whilst the Carlists suffered but little. Mina came to succeed Rodil as Viceroy of Navarre. In his proclamation of 4th November, he said, "I forewarn you that every one found out of the highway between sunrise and sunset, without adducing sufficient reason, shall be shot"!

Ultra-Carlists talked about Don Carlos being in Madrid as King by the end of the year. The Franchessin party were intimidating the Bishop of Leon, by the threat of publishing unpleasant things if he did not settle their claims. He had no means.

The Cristinos report that Zumalacarregui besieged Peralta on the 9th November, but retired. On the 28th he got before Villafranca, when the Urbanos and their families retired to the church, which was fortified, and held out firmly. He sent to Don Carlos to know if the church might be attacked. "Yes," was the answer. Preparations were made to burn it down. A capitulation was entered into, by which the prisoners were to be exchanged —they were all shot. Thirty men, three women, and four children had died in the tower of the church.

Henningsen, who was there, says, "There had been treachery on the part of the Cristinos, and a convoy was missed. We took and destroyed the church of Villafranca, fortified by fifty Urbanos, who had committed the greatest atrocities, particularly on Carlists. They refused

to surrender. Piles of wood, tow, goat-skins full of brandy, &c., were collected at the foot of the steeple. The Baron de los Valles, having just arrived with the King, had been entrusted to fire it. There were eight women and eleven children belonging to the Urbanos in the steeple, besides two women and two monks, their prisoners. At ten at night the tower was in flames. It was repeatedly proposed to let their women and children out, but they refused. The commandant asked for quarter. 'No; the men had none to hope for.' The commandant said they surrendered, but shots were fired by them afterwards. When a party went up to receive their arms, they shot a soldier, and an officer was wounded. The men who fired were bayoneted. Three women and four children had perished, and about thirty of the garrison. The commandant, his lieutenant, and a schoolmaster were shot."

Having provided means and passports for Colonels Bellengero, Cabañas, and others, they started for Spain.

Towards the end of December Baron de Haber went to Paris on political and financial matters, whilst I went to London to see what the Bishop of Leon and his surrounding were about.

Mina was for a war of extermination. At the head of 7000 men he shot a few accused of Carlism, and returned to Pamplona, leaving Cordova and Lopez in the field, who moved towards Los Arcos with 12,000 men. Lopez, with cavalry, attacked three Carlist battalions near Muez, which gave way; Zumalacarregui, covering their retreat, moved upon Cordova, but, not being strong enough, withdrew, the Cristinos remaining that night, the 12th December, at Mendaca. The day afterwards, Henningsen says, "Zumalacarregui bore an aspect as black as thunder."

On the 15th Cordova made a desperate attempt to force the bridge of Arquijas and failed. He endeavoured to ford the river, and was repulsed. Oraá's detachment of over 2000 men was dispersed in the Lana valley and fled. The Cristino loss, by their own account, was 1300; obliging the "vencedor" (conqueror) Zumalacarregui to repair his disasters in the Amezcoas. Cordova withdrew to Los Arcos, where he got orders from Mina to quit his command and go to Madrid.

Zumalacarregui traversed Guipuzcoa, routed Generals Jauregui and Iriarte, and fell upon the Bastan to surprise Mina, who was escorting provisions. The Carlists, however, were not strong enough to give him and his lieutenants battle, but harassed him up to the gates of Pamplona.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Carlists not "annihilated"—Battle of Segura; Eraso's severity—Dissensions and difficulties—Second Battle of Arquijas—Zumalacarregui's humanity at Ziga—Carlists take Los Arcos—Mina's butcheries—The Press—Bonapartist intrigues—Mina nearly taken—Echarri-Aranaz; Carlists liberate prisoners—Mina replaced by Valdez—Eliot convention for exchange of prisoners—Proposal to affiance Isabella II. to young Don Carlos; Don Carlos refuses—Mendizabal most active—De Haber's loan annulled—French Carlist loans, but no cash—England inclined to assist Isabella; Louis Philippe temporises—Carnicer and Cabrera, their history; Cabrera goes to Don Carlos for help; Carnicer shot—Zumalacarregui meets Valdez; causes him another "Beresina"—Sufferings of the Cristinos; they cry for intervention—Don Carlos will not publish his political views; his "tender correspondence" with the Princess of Beira; arrested in London—Carlist loan difficulties in Amsterdam—Palmerston opposes Carlism—Riots in Madrid—Carlists take Treviño—Carlos O'Donnell mortally wounded before Puente de la Reyna—Mr. Burgess' journal—Cristinos forced into Pamplona—British Legion formed—Zumalacarregui's wish to push on to Madrid; Don Carlos says Bilbao *must* be taken and levied upon; his general opposes; but *commanded* to besiege Bilbao; Tio Tomas goes disgusted; takes Ochandiano—Besieges Bilbao; is wounded 15th June; dies on the 25th—Princess of Beira arrives in Holland, on a political and financial tour; her wish for me to accompany her; opposed by a priest—Details of siege of Bilbao—Death of Zumalacarregui.

JANUARY, 1835.—At the close of 1834, the Cristinos had gained no advantage, although the Madrid Government asserted that the Carlists were "annihilated." Espartero, Jauregui, Lorenzo, and Carratalá now promised to take Zumalacarregui prisoner; so on the 2nd was the battle of Segura. Part of Jauregui's division ran in upon the Carlists, when the commander of the peceteros and many

officers fell, which occasioned indecision. "A la bayoneta," was the cry of the Carlist Guides. The battalion rushed onwards, leaving more than a hundred dead. The Cristinos repeatedly, but in vain, tried to regain footing, but were driven back with great slaughter, Zumalacarregui exhorting "to spare the lead and use the iron." Henningsen observes: "It was glorious for 1700 men to have repulsed, after seven hours' fighting, more than eight times their number; and it was reported that Espartero and Jauregui pulled each other's hair, attributing to each the disgrace."

The next morning the Cristinos heard of the destruction of their Granada regiment by Eraso. He took 170 prisoners, including 13 officers, and shot them at Mondragon! This regiment had rendered itself notorious, particularly in the massacre of monks in Madrid. Espartero retreated at once. His Principe regiment rallied for awhile, when Zumalacarregui was struck by two bullets, one on his wrist, the other through his fur jacket. Henningsen so distinguished himself that the knighthood of S. Ferdinand was conferred on him.

A fortnight afterwards Zumalacarregui, with 2800 men, kept 10,000 of his enemy at bay, and then routed them on the heights of Orbisso. Among the wounded Cristinos was an English major, who died. He used to repeat, "G— d——n it," which his nurse thought meant something like "Jesu Maria"!

Although Zumalacarregui had got a fine force together, was gaining victories, and making arrangements to move south; political, military, and clerical dissensions continued at the "Real," or Royal head-quarters, much to his annoyance.

I was in London and admitted to conferences with the

Princess of Beira, the Bishop of Leon, and Blas Calle y Navarro, a financial commissioner sent from the provinces. So serious did some affairs appear to me, that I wrote to M. de Haber to come to London, which he did, when I had to act as interpreter. The Carlists in London were most anxious to know how far they could depend upon the Tory Government. The Tories, they felt, would do nothing against, but would they assist them? They had always the fear of the Whigs being in power, who would certainly not aid but oppose them. Don Carlos was again in want of money, when he was somewhat assisted by Metternich on the part of Austria.

Mina sent 5000 more infantry and cavalry into the field, and having assembled 9000 men at Estella, under Lorenzo, Oraá, and three other generals, he gave orders for the passage of the Ega. On the 5th February his lieutenants ascended their side, and, after driving in the Carlist advance at Asarta, took post opposite to them on the other bank. Zumalacarregui had with him Iturralde, Guibelalde, Villareal, and Gomez, and 8500 men. The Cristinos attacked at several points, but were so fiercely repulsed, and with such loss, that they retreated to their entrenched towns. This is known as the second battle of Arquijas.

Segastibelza had a smart and successful affair at Aniz, in the Bastan, with Ocaña, who had to retire to Ziga, shutting himself up there.

Zumalacarregui invested Ziga, when Ocaña offered to capitulate, if allowed to retire to France. This was rejected, when the Cristinos, who had carried in the women of the place with them, declared they should all be murdered if the Carlists attacked. Zumalacarregui drew off his troops.

Whilst Mina was employed in escorting money and stores from France, Zumalacarregui went to attack Los Arcos, which had been harbouring Cristino columns and affording them a ready refuge. On the 22nd February part of the town was occupied. The following day it was bombarded. All had been taken except the hospital, whither the troops had retired. As night came on, while a heavy fire was kept up, Henningsen writes, "a quantity of combustible matter was piled up and fired against their last stronghold—faggots, straw, skins of brandy, and bags of red pepper, the smoke of which is so intolerable that it is impossible, if the wind carry it into a house, to bear it. During the night the garrison escaped, when muskets, ammunition, and baggage were captured. The sick and wounded were taken care of, although the wounded and sick taken by Mina in the Bastan had been butchered."

The Press.—It was important that the doings of the Carlist army should be fairly represented. As to the politics of Don Carlos, they were difficult to be got at. There were those who believed in the propriety of all he did; there were others who saw clearly that a principal move of Don Carlos was to meet Spain in a conciliatory spirit—to issue a manifesto with modern tendencies. Still it must be borne in mind that he was fighting the battle of Absolutism for other governments. The Cristinos had no difficulty with the Liberal portion of the press in having, at times, even their defeats turned into victories. Zumalacarregui's successes were garbled, and Don Carlos' "Corte" ridiculed. There were the Carlist bulletins, which gave a pretty fair account generally of both armies; but there was nothing to be found in them calculated to inspire political hope in the more rational Carlists. In France the press

was Liberal; but the *Gazette de France*, then edited by the Abbé Genoud, was Legitimist. Belgium followed the Liberalism of France. In Holland, the *Journal de la Haye* occasionally ventured upon a leader favourable to the Carlists, but the *Handelsblad*, of Amsterdam, had very Liberal tendencies. The papers in Germany, especially the *Frankfort Gazette*, were more than Conservative.

The Liberal press in England upheld the Constitutionalism of Portugal and Spain; the Tory press cautiously defended Legitimacy, and still more so Carlism. Public Toryism was not Absolutism, whatever private Toryism might be. The Tory press would have come out stronger had it perceived better political ballast on Don Carlos' side. Then the Whigs had long made up their minds against Continental Absolutism, and resolutely opposed it, particularly under Palmerston. The business of advising that portion of the press friendly to Carlism was undertaken by Baron de Haber; he did his best to apologise for Don Carlos' political shortcomings, and hoped that he would become more sensible as to his difficult position.

I occasionally saw Joseph Bonaparte (Count de Survelliers) at Baron de Haber's; he now lived permanently in London, and his brother Lucien was often with him. Something was brewing against the Citizen King, and upon the principle that all is fair in love, war, and politics.

I visited a Portuguese celebrity, Senhor João Paulo Cordeiro, who resided near Kennington Common; this was the individual who had a large gun made for Dom Miguel, which was used during the siege of Oporto, and went by the donor's name. He told me that his losses by the "causa" of Dom Miguel amounted to more than

£50,000; and that he was going shortly to Jersey, there being no duty on tobacco there, to establish a snuff manufactory, and smuggle his "Princeza" snuff into Portugal.

On the 9th March Zumalacarregui experienced a check from General Seone before Larraga, which was well protected by walls. On the 11th, Mina and Oraá left Pamplona with 4500 men; the following day was the action of Llaregui. The Carlists attacked Mina's left with vigour. Once the Cristinos succeeded in driving back the skirmishers in great confusion, when Zumalacarregui led his men on sword in hand. The enemy was repulsed with great loss, and Mina was nearly taken. Henningsen says: "Mina's way might the next day have been tracked by the dead bodies of those killed in the pursuit, and the blood of the wounded on the snow."

On the 14th, Zumalacarregui was before the fort of Echarri-Aranaz. After four days' bombardment it surrendered. The Cristinos observe that 300 shells were thrown in and two mines sprung; 438 prisoners were taken; they were all given their liberty—many joined the Carlist standard. One 8-pounder, two 6-pounders, muskets, ammunition, and provisions fell to the victors. Mina had had so many defeats that he was replaced by Valdez.

Mina had issued a proclamation in which was the following:—"Lecaroz has been this day committed to the flames, and every one in five of its inhabitants shot. The same fate is reserved for all communities and for every individual following the example of Lecaroz." The Cristino authority* observes: "Mina, recollecting the favourable effect of burning down Castellfollit, in Catalonia, ordered the same to be done to Lecaroz, and every fifth

* Mariana, vol. iii., p. 367.

inhabitant shot. . . . There were only seven men in the place, three of whom he shot."

I am unable to give the number shot, but should say many more than "three."

The horror excited throughout Europe at the mutual butcheries of prisoners in Spain induced the Peel and Wellington administration to attempt the mitigation of the barbarities that were being committed. Lord Eliot and Colonel Gurwood went on this mission of mercy.*

There was another object, a dynastic one—that Don Carlos should leave Spain, and that his eldest son should be affianced to Isabella II. This had the approbation of reasonable Carlists, but not of Don Carlos or those about him.

Had Don Carlos shown a little of what Los Valles calls his "profound wisdom and great magnanimity," he could now have come to good terms for his partisans and family, for he was in a fine military position. He refused. He never had another so good a chance. His army in the provinces consisted of 22,500 men, besides guerillas, custom-house guards, and garrisons. Villalobos and Merino had 1150 infantry and 500 cavalry in Castile; in Catalonia there were twenty bands of 4000 men; and in Arragon a force collecting under Cabrera.

The Cristinos observe: "Although the ostensible object was to dulcify the war, a proposition was then made to Don Carlos for a marriage between his son and Isabella, which he repelled." The ever-active Mendizabal had just armed another steamer for the service of Isabella II., and was procuring funds for the Cristinos in a most extraordi-

* The Convention for the exchange of prisoners was signed at Logroño by Valdez, 27th April, 1835; by Zumalacarregui at Asarta on the 28th.

nary manner. The Carlist fleet (!) was nowhere; or rather the steamer 'United Kingdom' was sent to Holland to be fitted out, but there were no means to do it.

I have already mentioned the arrival in London of Don Blas Calle y Navarro. He presented himself at the end of March to the Baron de Haber as the Royal Loan Commissioner, and handed him the "Anulacion" of the Royal Loan of 1834. The Baron smiled at his blustering pomposity, and would not receive the royal document. Calle considered that a piece of paper full of injustices, signed "Yo el Rey," had regal power out of Spain, but he was mistaken. The Baron had cognisance of the project of a new Carlist loan with Tassin and Co., recommended by Franchessin, dated Zuniga, March 4th; also that Don Carlos' agent at Bayonne, a French Legitimist, was making arrangements with other parties for a loan, which was to upset Tassin's!

On the 9th April the Whigs came into power, which was unfavourable for Don Carlos. The Cristino Government at once made a formal application to England and France for assistance. England granted permission to raise mercenaries; Louis Philippe temporised.

As De Haber's Loan, brought out in Holland, had been annulled by Don Carlos, I went there to superintend its withdrawal, whilst De Haber remained in London to watch the course of events.

On my arrival at Amsterdam I found that the Tassin Loan was for £1,600,000 at 55, with a 5 per cent. commission on the whole amount; and that £800,000 had been promised to be sent to Don Carlos at once!

On the 2nd April Zumalacarregui with 5000 men commenced the bombardment of Maestu, which brought out 10,000 Cristinos from Vittoria and other places; he took

up position, but battle was declined. The Carlists pursued, when the Cristinos separated into three columns and left the Amezcoas. On the same date Simon de la Torre drove back Espartero into Bilbao with loss. Gomez defeated part of Oraá's column near Saldias, and took the village of Escura, making 150 prisoners.

By the middle of April it was known that Carnicer, the first Carlist chief who had risen in Arragon, had been shot at Miranda on the Ebro. He was a captain at the time of the death of Ferdinand VII. in September 1833, when he joined the Carlist cause and raised a formidable band, which gave immediate occupation to the Queen's troops. Cabrera, who joined him in November, was born at Tortosa,* 27th December, 1806. He was destined for the Church, but the Bishop of Tolosa considered him more fitted to be a soldier. For his Carlist views he was ordered to Barcelona, but did not go. On the 12th November, 1833, he heard mass, embraced his mother, who gave him some money, and on the 15th he entered Morella; he begged for a musket to serve under Carnicer; he was at once successful and was made corporal. Disunion among his party caused their leaving Morella on the 10th December, when he became lieutenant. On the 23rd they took S. Mateo, but had to retreat; he may be said to have saved his party mainly by the extraordinary use of his murderous "palo," or staff. The following day there were serious dissensions, when Marcoval, Soto, and Cabrera went off together. In January, 1835, hunger drove Cabrera from the fastnesses of Villebana to Tortosa, when his family wished him to give up the enterprise. He,

* See "Vida de Cabrera," por B. de Cordova, 1845, Madrid; who, although not of his political party, is not unfavourable.

however, returned to Villebana, and on the 19th he was at the head of a "partida" of nine men, three of whom only had "palos." By 6th February he had 135 men, and was made captain by Marcoval, who had with him Forcadell and other leaders.

Marcoval, Soto, and a party were taken and shot shortly afterwards at S. Mateo. Cabrera exclaimed, "Marcoval, my protector, shot! Sanguinary will be the war we have commenced!" Carnicer now joined Cabrera and offered him the command, which he refused. They were successful at Villafranca del Cid, and made many prisoners. On the 29th Darco capitulated to them. In the attack on Calatayud, it is said, Cabrera killed four men with his staff. The Carlists were anxious to exchange prisoners; but as the Cristinos shot some of theirs, Cabrera shot ten of his. Zumalacarregui named Carnicer commander in Lower Arragon, and Cabrera commandant of infantry.

On the 6th April they crossed the Ebro, encountering 600 of the enemy, whom they dispersed, leaving 80 dead on the field. On the 10th, the Cristino generals Breton and Carratalá routed them; the Carlists lost 400 men at Mayals, when only 180 followed Carnicer and Cabrera.

Other encounters took place, some unsuccessful, when Carnicer was generally blamed for not taking Cabrera's advice. In December Cabrera resolved to go to Navarre and lay before Don Carlos the bad state of affairs in Arragon. On the 27th January, 1835, he left, disguised as a muleteer, with only about two shillings in his pocket. He arrived on the 9th February at Zuñiga, saw Don Carlos and begged for help—averring that his party had been lenient, the Cristinos cruel. He returned with despatches

to Carnicer, but did not come up with him until the 8th of March, when he found him with only 30 followers. Don Carlos had sent for Carnicer, so Cabrera was left in command.

The Cristinos write* that Carnicer was soon captured and shot; that public opinion accused Cabrera of this treason. In Cordova's "Life of Cabrera,"† he says, "No proof has been given of this imputation, and there are documents to show its inaccuracy." On reference to the Appendix (p. 341) is General Francisco Garcia's official report on this matter, in which not one word appears against Cabrera. Garcia writes: that he left Josa with Carnicer, disguised as muleteers; at Lecera they got passports, and that more than twenty people knew of their having left that place. They journeyed on to Miranda del Ebro, where Carnicer was asked what was the matter with his face (for with a plaster covered by a handkerchief he had hid a mole); he replied that he had toothache, at which the officer ordered him to uncover his face, saying, "You have fallen into the hands of your worst enemies;" telling him he had been notified that by one of the passes of the Ebro, or by the bridge of Miranda, he would pass disguised. A bugler named Morillo recognised him. Carnicer was shot on the 7th April. (Garcia was exchanged in January, 1836.)

Valdez vowed he would drive the Carlists into the sea or across the Pyrenees. Zumalacarregui calmly waited for him. On the night of the 20th April Valdez bivouacked in Contrasta, with a force of between 19,000 and 20,000 men. Zumalacarregui passed the same night

* Mariana, vol. iii., p. 382.

† Vol. i. p. 138.

at Aranarche, with seven battalions and a hundred and fifty horse. On the 21st, in the afternoon, he commenced with sharp skirmishing. Night set in, when Valdez encamped about the Venta of Urbassu. The next day Zumalacarregui in person attacked his enemy's right flank with four battalions. Valdez, from the nature of the country, found his thirty battalions rather embarrassing, and they were ultimately thrown into confusion. Attempting to reach Artaza, the Carlist Guides bore the brunt of the attack, but had to disperse, when other troops took their place. The road was so thickly strewn with dead that the Cristinos could not descend without trampling upon the bodies. The Carlists had most anxious moments; but Valdez' rear and flank were suffering horribly, so that he retreated on Estella, and was harassed until ten at night. Henningsen says:—"When approaching Estella, the rout must have been like that of the passage of the Beresina." 3000 muskets were thrown away. They lost all their baggage, and 300 horses and mules. Valdez must have lost in the three days 800 to 1000 men, besides 300 wounded, and 80 prisoners; also 200 officers and men killed by the enraged peasantry. Above 3500 men were found missing, which carried terror into his army.

The Cristinos confess that Valdez' "unfortunate" expedition to the Amezcoas consisted of 20,000 men, having with him Cordova, Aldama, San Miguel, Bedoya, Mendez-Vigo and Seone. The defile of Artaza was to be the place of fight, and although the Carlists were beaten back more than once, they succeeded at last in their objects. The army of Valdez was routed, and the so-much-talked-of expedition to the Amezcoas had all the aspect of an important Carlist victory.

The following * in the form of "decimas" (stanzas), was found on the body of a Cristino captain of the 12th regiment. It describes not only the hardships endured by the Queen's troops, but also the dissatisfaction of officers and men :—

From the Amezcoa to the Burunda, from Biscay to Navarre, health and clothing is shattered for the said Isabella. May hell confound her! What is it to me who reigns, so I get out of this labyrinth? Confound the Carlists, the Government, the nation, the entire world! Ah! how the sun pierces! Holy God! Perched on these mountains I imagine Spain free, because we have marched so much. Whilst by narrow tracks we trudge over mountains, others in tranquil lands say, over their turkey and rum, 'Long live Isabel of Borbon! and let fools go to the wars.' Whilst with painful anxiety, from steep to steep, from place to place, I muse over this perpetual procession, the cat after the mouse, and then I sing: May the devil take Isabella, her mother, and the Carlists. Here is an ice-capped mountain. Oh, what a lovely spot! Mars with his fiery revellings gives not such martyrdom as this wending from precipice to precipice, from the river to the mud-holes. If there be patience for so much ill, let a saint come and give it me. For these wars how many fools there are, how often crucified! Let the fool come, and he will learn how the chain is bound, his cup of misery will be filled with sorrows and despotism. A colonel so bad infidels cannot have—jealous of our laurels, and ruling with rigour. So ragged a regiment as this of mine even the Carlists have not. The roll always calling, the pay ever behindhand—we are the first in the attacks. Ah! ah! this is a fine inheritance, this war in Navarre! Now and then a chief seizes something—the poor soldier straw for his bed. He gets meat—if he comes safe out of action. Long live Isabella of Borbon! Praise to our generals, who lead us to glory! In precipices and among bramble thickets we see the faction take positions. We are sent to the attack. Two thousand graves are opened in taking some heights, which we abandon. Although the Muses are nine, Melpomene alone I invoke. Dear friend, the end of my life is approaching, and in these snows I'll write my brief epitaph—"Here lies a foolish fellow of the Canarias. They buried him; pray for him. He was killed by Carlos Quinto and Isabella the Second."

* Translated from Walton, vol. ii., p. 395. At the same time the Carlist officers received little more than rations. They passed their time joyously, singing Royalist songs of their own composing. (Pp. 431—436.)

Iriarte, having succeeded Espartero, sallied from Bilbao with 4000 men, to change the garrison of Lequetio, and then to make a tour of the coast. To reach his destination he had to pass through Guernica, which the Carlists had apparently evacuated. He entered on the 1st of May, and, halting in the Plaza, ordered his men to pile arms. At this moment they were fired upon from the surrounding houses, where the Carlists lay concealed, and great havoc ensued. They lost two field-pieces and baggage.

With the failure of Valdez the Madrid Government was in the greatest confusion. Intervention from anywhere was called for; however, Martinez de la Rosa declared, the moment Louis Philippe sent troops across the frontier, he and his party would even go over to the Carlists. It was believed by many that Don Carlos had now another good chance, particularly if he would declare for moderate political views, and marched at once on Madrid. But his surroundings were for the Church and Absolutism in their pristine condition. Those who offered rational advice were called traitors.

So favourable did the position of Don Carlos appear, that some persons in London proposed to take the Princess of Beira and the Infantes to Spain. This, however, was prevented. Don Carlos' wife had been dead about seven months, and it was known that a tender correspondence had already commenced between Don Carlos and his sister-in-law, the Princess of Beira.

Henningsen observes that it puzzled everyone why Zumalacarregui did not destroy his enemy in Estella; "had he vigorously assailed them he might have marched at once to Madrid. However, he had expended almost his last cartridge, so Valdez escaped to Pamplona."

At the end of April a Carlist conspiracy was formed in

Andalusia, of which Seville was the focus. The plot having been discovered, numerous arrests took place, and among others Brigadier Malavila was shot.

On the 6th May I left Amsterdam for Rotterdam to meet and to render any service I could to the Princess of Beira and the Infantes, then on their way to Italy. Finding she would not arrive for some days, I returned to Amsterdam, where I learnt that the Princess had been arrested in London for £1400. This delayed her journey. Don Carlos' late wife had employed one José Luzuriaga to write in favour of the Carlist cause, and had given him the means for so doing. He, however, made a claim for £1400 more. Not being paid, he wrote a pamphlet against the "Causa." He lost his case against the Princess.*

Calle, the Carlist Royal Finance Commissioner, arrived in Amsterdam. He had come to receive from MM. Doloret and Marguet de Villar, agents of Tassin, £150,000. I felt assured he never would receive a penny from this source.

Calle soon discovered that Tassin & Co. could raise no funds. They had a contract in blank signed "Yo el Rey," which they would not return to him. Calle, not obtaining the royal document, stormed and stamped, roaring, "Devils of Frenchmen! Oranges! (this was in lieu of the national oath, 'C——o) Horns! Lumps of ——. I am not a Royal Commissioner, I am a miserable disentangler. What rascals! All the foreigners try to cheat us; but vengeance!"

He got letters from Spain, begging him to agree to

* Señor Francisco Merry, a staunch Carlist, told me he ad a duel with Luzuriaga on this matter.

any terms with Tassin if he could only obtain half the promised amount. Tassin could do nothing. Calle now wrote to Don Carlos for full powers to contract a loan, and until it arrived would look out for a house to assist him, offering a "trifling commission." I advised him to offer a very high commission if he expected any success.

A large party among the Cristinos were begging of Louis Philippe for armed intervention, but he had not made up his mind. The English Whigs, or rather Palmerston, were more than ever decided to oppose Carlism.

From the 10th to the 12th May, riots occurred in Madrid. The mob demanded the minister's head. The cause of these riots was the Eliot convention. "An agreement had been entered into which acknowledged bands of rebels as a belligerent power," was the denunciatory speech of Alcala Galiano, who was supported by Arguelles. Martinez de la Rosa was put on his defence, and argued that the object of the convention was to mitigate the horrors of war; that when the Queen's allies and the troops called for such a measure, the ministers could not reject it; and that if Valdez had gained the battle of the Amezcoas, and not been a fugitive at Logroño when the proposals reached him, he would not have affixed his signature to it.

It was now agreed among the Cristinos themselves, that the Queen's cause was lost without foreign intervention.

After driving Jauregui into S. Sebastian, Zumalacarregui, leaving Murgia, appeared under the walls of Vittoria, and passed on to Treviño.

On the 11th he opened fire upon this stronghold of the Cristinos. After a while they were heard to cry "Viva

Carlos V.!" and surrendered. They consisted of 420 men and 9 officers. Among the spoils were 500 muskets, 4 loads of ammunition, and a quantity of small arms.

The Carlists now blockaded Puente de la Reyna, and several attempts to relieve it from Pamplona were repelled. In one of the skirmishes close to the walls the brave Carlos O'Donnell, who had organized the Carlist cavalry, was mortally wounded.

Henningsen observes: "O'Donnell came up with a pecetero and might have cut him down. The man fired at him; the ball entered the abdomen; the pecetero was cut down. Mr. Frederick Burgess,* the surgeon, gave it as his opinion that the wound was mortal. O'Donnell said, "I feel I must say farewell to the world. I can have but a short time to live. Already three O'Donnell's are gone to the war! Their blood has been shed on the right side as well as the wrong." He died the next night. He was the best cavalry officer in Spain, as Sarsfield was deemed the best of infantry. On the death of O'Donnell, General Bellengero had command of the cavalry.

Villafranca in Guipuscoa was invested; and with the view of relieving it, Valdez, on the 28th, sallied from Pamplona; but Oraá, who was to support him, on reaching the valley of Ulzama, fell into ambush, and was defeated by Segastibelza and Elio. Oraá lost 580 in prisoners, many killed and drowned, and 1500 muskets, together with his

* Dr. Burgess was practising in London in 1869. He kindly placed his journals and drawings in my hands, commencing March, 1835, to January, 1837. Henningsen thus writes of Mr. Burgess: "He was a young surgeon of Guy's, and had excellent certificates from Sir A. Cooper. He met with rapid and deserved advancement in the service, and was acknowledged by the army as by far the most skilful of their surgeons. Mr. Burgess became senior surgeon on Zumalacarregui's staff."

brigade of mountain-guns. Valdez returned to Pamplona. Cristino authorities do not deny these operations.

*June.*—It was notified again that the Princess of Beira would leave London for Holland on her way to Italy, and that she had expressed a wish for me to accompany her.

Señor Calle came to me one morning in a frantic state. His letters from the Bishop of Leon informed him that the British Government would allow 10,000 mercenaries to be raised, commanded by Colonel Evans, to assist the Queen.* I suggested to Calle to write at once to his friend Zumalacarregui to insist on Don Carlos offering Spain a reasonable form of government, which would make him many more friends; otherwise his affairs must go wrong.

I subsequently learnt that the Ambassadors of Russia, Austria, and Naples had interviews in London with the Princess on the subject of this armed intervention. They said they would send something more than a serious remonstrance to the British and French Governments, but nothing came of it. The Princess told the Ambassadors that Don Carlos was fighting the battle as much for their royal masters as for himself, and it was their duty to assist him in every way possible. The Princess had much influence with Don Carlos, and it was now known that she was affianced to him. She was a rising star, had her flatterers and camarilla; but she also had a will of her own, and was not to be easily imposed on.

Henningsen tells us that the day following that on which Zumalacarregui took Vergara Don Carlos made his triumphal entry; 1300 men surrendered as prisoners of war, while the number already in the hands of the Carlists

* The application was made by General Alava on the 5th June; Lord Palmerston acceded to it on the 8th.

was alarming; they loudly begged to enter the Carlist ranks. The evacuation of Salvatierra was confirmed, and Vittoria had only five battalions and Urbanos to garrison it. Zumalacarregui was now determined to march upon Vittoria, thence to Burgos (for Merino with 200 horse and 1500 infantry had entered Roa in that province), and either force the enemy to a battle, or move forward on Madrid. Bets ran high in the army that in less than six weeks they would be in Madrid. One thing only was wanting—money. The coffers of Don Carlos were empty; he found himself (except a few thousands sent by friendly Powers) left to his own resources, which were trifling. This want of pecuniary supplies was the reason why the great error was committed of attacking Bilbao, instead of crossing the Ebro and profiting by the panic of the enemy. Don Carlos declared he had no money to pay arrears, or immediate expectation of receiving any; that Bilbao, which might furnish temporary assistance, *must* be besieged and taken. This Zumalacarregui strongly opposed. Bilbao would take them several days; besides, it was an entirely false military movement. Inconvenient as it might be, it was better to take advantage of the panic of the enemy before he could recover, to march on Vittoria, Burgos, and Madrid. On reaching Burgos the Carlist party in Madrid would raise their heads; and the capital once taken, the resources of the kingdom would be in their hands.

"The want of money* made such an impression on those about Don Carlos that he was advised, against his better

* I may add there was also an accumulation of various intrigues, some against Zumalacarregui and his operations; there were also some very cautious advisers who did not think the time had arrived for a successful advance on Madrid.

judgment (?), almost to insist upon the taking of Bilbao, and he merely put the question, "Can it be taken?" to Zumalacarregui. "I know I can take it, but it will be at an immense sacrifice, not so much of men as of time, which is now so precious!" was the reply. The greater portion of the Carlist artillery was sent to Bilbao, and with the remainder Zumalacarregui on his way went before Ochandiano, which surrendered with 380 prisoners, provisions, 100,000 cartridges, and 500 muskets.

The Carlists proceeded to Bilbao. Henningsen continues: "Zumalacarregui's stern but noble features I had never witnessed wear such a gloomy aspect. 'Look at the general!' persons remarked; 'one would say he was going to mount a scaffold rather than to pounce upon such prey as Bilbao!'" The Cristinos wrote that after the many defeats of their army, Zumalacarregui, in a transport of joy, exclaimed, "Now will I take my volunteers to Madrid and conquer." His plan was to make himself master of Vittoria and march upon Madrid, thus taking advantage of the depressed state of his enemy. But the courtier and clerical advisers of Don Carlos persuaded him that the taking of the rich city of Bilbao was easy and certain, and the funds he would find there would help him out of his penury. Seduced by the idea that his wants were to be immediately relieved, and not relishing the opposition Zumalacarregui evinced to such a line of operations, Don Carlos, yielding to the prayers of his courtiers, commanded him as his king to obey.

Zumalacarregui was profoundly disgusted, and went without sterling faith in his efforts to besiege Bilbao.

The following is an extract of a letter from Zumalacar-

regui to Los Valles, then in Paris, dated Durango, 10th June, 1835 :—

"DEAR FRIEND,—We have lately gained much ground, for we take the Cristinos as in nets; and whatever the French journals may have said respecting our successes during the last ten days, they are still below the truth. Whilst I was besieging Villa Franca, Espartero marched to relieve it; the only advantage he derived from the attempt was that of leaving 1200 prisoners. On the 9th we took Villa Franca, after playing upon it with our artillery; we even used the mortar. The enemy has also abandoned Tolosa; and the town of Bergara, containing a garrison of 1200 men, surrendered soon afterwards. In fact, they have withdrawn all their garrisons from the Bastan and the three provinces, except those of the capitals, of Salvatierra, Ochandiano, and two other places on the coast. It seems, therefore, that their intention is to abandon this country, and to retire upon the Ebro; on my part, I expect to be in Bilbao in three days, and at Vittoria in twelve. Unable to say more. Eybar surrendered yesterday."

On the 23rd, we in Amsterdam heard that Zumalacarregui had been wounded before Bilbao on the 15th.

I went to Rotterdam on the 29th to meet Baron de Haber, who had arrived to receive the Princess of Beira, who was coming in His Majesty's steamer 'Pluto,' Captain Duffield.

On the 30th we heard that Zumalacarregui had died of his wound on the 25th. In the evening the Princess, with the Infantes Carlos, Ferdinand, and Juan, arrived and put up at the Pays Bas Hotel. Her *suite* consisted of some thirty persons, including Don Manuel Aznarez, the Señoras Sacanell and Concha, the Señoritas Iglesias and Pilar—also a priest.

The Princess would not believe that the great Carlist chief was dead; still the information weighed heavily on her.

On the 3rd July the Princess and the Infantes went to Helvoet, where the Baron de Haber and self met the

Tomas Zumalacarregui

party. Having visited the dockyard, we proceeded on board the large steamer the 'United Kingdom,' which the Princess named the 'Carlos V.'

When the Princess was in Portugal with Don Carlos and his family, she requested my opinion of the political feelings in England regarding her brother Dom Miguel and her brother-in-law Don Carlos. Palatable to her I could not in truth make it.

During her residence in London I often saw her, when my information on English views of Don Carlos' affairs was more truthful than pleasing. On her arrival in Holland, it was notified that her Royal Highness would like me to accompany her to Germany and Italy, to which I could have no objection.

There was a Spanish priest in her *suite;* his looks at me were of the black-as-thunder sort. One morning the Princess requested me to accompany her; she was going to mass. On the way this priest said, rather scornfully, "You are a Protestant; you have nothing to do with our services." I replied, "I have Her Royal Highness' commands." In a loud tone he observed, "You are insolent!" My reply, in a louder, was, "Mind your own affairs!" Her Royal Highness heard the discussion, turned round, her dark eyes flashing fire, and turning to me said, in a commanding tone, "Don Guillermo, follow me!"

On our return from mass the Princess apologised to me for the bad behaviour of the priest. In the evening she sent for and thanked me, particularly for having been her guide in Rotterdam, and thought I had better not accompany her. The Princess left for Germany and Italy on a political and financial tour for Don Carlos.

## SIEGE OF BILBAO AND DEATH OF ZUMALACARREGUI.

Lord J. Hay, of the 'Castor,' and Captain Lapidge, of the 'Ringdove,' British men-of-war, reached Bilbao on the 6th June, and after suggesting improvements in the means of defence, recommended the landing from the 'Reyna Governadera,' *alias* 'Royal Tar,' of a party of English gunners. This rallied the spirits of the troops and inhabitants, who, the day before, were disposed to capitulate.

Don Carlos and his "Corte" had determined to invest Bilbao, enter and lay it under contribution. This was opposed by Zumalacarregui, whose desire was to have pushed on from the Ebro south, having Madrid in view as his prize.

Bilbao* for its defence had 30 pieces of artillery. The Carlists had two 18-pounders, two mortars, and nine guns. Zumalacarregui opened fire and a breach was nearly effected, when his ammunition failed. This gave the Cristinos time to repair. The storming was to take place the next night. Preparations were made to establish a battery on the left of Begoña to batter down the wall that united the separate forts, and enter the city. The Palacio afforded a commanding view, when early the next morning (the 15th June), notwithstanding the representation of his staff, Zumalacarregui went out into the balcony, although the wood-work was like a riddle, and all the bars were torn away by grape-shot. On seeing a man so exposed, and by his telescope and black fur jacket evidently a superior officer, the enemy commenced firing at him. It has been said he was struck by one of the English marines from the steamer in the Cristino service; but this it is impossible to ascertain. All agree that a discharge of more than a hundred muskets took place. A bullet bounding from one of the bars of the balcony struck him in the inner part of the calf of the right leg.

Henningsen and Mr. Burgess, the English surgeon, met the wounded general shortly afterwards, who seemed to be in some pain, but conversed as if nothing had happened. From the description given by the Spanish surgeon, the wound was very trifling. At Durango, the Ministers were in waiting—he had never been on cordial terms with those about Don Carlos—he received them rather bluntly. They inquired whether he was in pain. "Do you imagine that a bullet through the leg doesn't hurt?" was his reply. When they had left, he said, "The pitcher goes to the well till it breaks at last. Two months more only, and I would not have cared

* See Henningsen.

for any sort of wound." He was attended by a surgeon of his own staff—a man who had deserted over from the Cristinos a few weeks before—Don Carlos' physician, and Mr. Burgess; the latter was of opinion that in a fortnight or three weeks he ought, if properly treated, to be able to resume his occupations. Mr. Burgess was also of opinion *that the bullet should be instantly extracted.* This was opposed by the other two. At 6 a.m. the next day, Don Carlos came to see the General. They conversed at great length; tears stood in Don Carlos' eyes. (A principal question was who should hold command of the army, and it is said that Zumalacarregui considered Don Carlos should, but who was to be chief of his staff is not mentioned.) The wound was dressed, when the General requested Henningsen to tell Mr. Burgess, that as his wound was of a most trifling description, and, besides his own surgeon, Don Carlos had sent his, that he (Burgess) had better return to Ponte Novo, where his services might be more useful to the wounded.

Zumalacarregui was carried to Segura, thence to Segama, a distance of thirty miles, passing through his birthplace, Ormastegui. From one of his servants Henningsen heard that the Spaniah surgeons at last determined on extracting the bullet, but as it had fallen many inches lower, they kept cutting and cutting away, and performed the operation in so barbarous a manner that he suffered intense pain, from the effects of which he fainted. To lull this, they gave him opium, it appears, in too great a dose, and, shortly after the bullet was extracted, he died of delirium.

I extract the following from Mr. Burgess's journal:—

I sat up with the General the greater part of the night at Durango. Don Carlos came early. At 8 a.m. the surgeon dressed the wound, when I found the ball had entered three inches and a-half below the head of the tibia, on the inner side, and was lodged in the glutei muscles, fracturing the edge of the bone. The surgeons had applied splints, for what reason I know not. At 9.30 I left with Henningsen. On the 25th I heard Zumalacarregui was dead. The surgeon reported he had died of fever they had not regarded, three hours after they had extracted the ball. The General had been buried twenty-four hours after his death, without being examined or requested, by the surgeon, Vicente Gonzales, who was a Cristino and just turned over to us. He was buried for the present in the church of Segama. The said surgeon deserted from the Carlists a short time afterwards.

Mr. Burgess informs me that he would at once have undertaken the case, but was not allowed to have it under his management. The

author was informed, when at Bayonne, by persons who were at the siege of Bilbao, that it was the general opinion, had Mr. Burgess been allowed to have extracted the ball at once, Zumalacarregui would have been saved.

Mr. Burgess visited Segama shortly afterwards, when the Señora of the house in which the General died told him that "on Tuesday, the 23rd, at 5 p.m., the General was worse. The next day the ball was extracted. The body was generally yellow. At 8 a.m. the General said: 'Is a man to die of a single ball'—he had confessed At 11 he died. The body was taken to the Hermitage the next morning. In the night, or Friday morning early, the guard being dismissed, the body was removed by four grenadiers of one of the battalions of Guipuzcoa, an aide-de-camp, and the cura, and deposited in secrecy."

The following is an extract of a letter to Señor Calle, dated 19th July, from the Cura Joaquin Ollo (then under political arrest at Libourne, in France), brother-in-law to Zumalacarregui:—

Many times have I been on the point of communicating our greatest of misfortunes. You are already aware of our bitter sorrow. At last our beloved Tomas, after all his earthly troubles, has peacefully rendered his noble spirit to his Creator. He died on the holy day of St. John, at eleven in the morning of the 25th of last month. I must leave to your own feelings the dreadful impression this visitation has caused to my dear and afflicted sister, to our family and friends. Foreigners mourn with us, even Spaniards of the opposite party. The melancholy news was given to us on the 1st of this month. We could not believe it, for it seemed impossible, as we read and re-read Cirilio's letter of the 22nd (Cirilio, another brother-in-law, was always with the General) to our sister, in which he said, "Tomas continues to do well, his fever has ceased, the wound is no longer inflamed, and one of these days they will extract the ball. He has fair appetite, but his doctors will not allow him to eat." At last on the 11th inst., we had a letter from Cirilio, who said, "I told Carlos Vargas to write to a friend to communicate the General's death; but that friend was then suffering with fever and had lost his senses." That friend has lately written to me; he tells me, "In Tomas has been complied with the high decrees of the Creator—from a life of sorrows he has passed to one of joy. He died a perfect Christian, offering to God not one life, but a thousand had he had them to give. Tomas died in my arms, and I saw in him all the signs of one predestined for heaven." Supplicate for him in your prayers.

The Cristinos write:—"The 15th June arrived, memorable for both camps—in one that of sorrow; for on that day the fatal wound was received by the man to whose genius was owing the rapid rise of the Carlist cause. On being asked in his last moments as to his will, he replied, 'I leave my wife and my daughters; they are all I have.'"

It was not till the 27th that the Carlist batteries, being repaired, commenced again, so as to force surrender. Mirasol entered into negotiations, with a view of gaining time, but the siege recommenced and went on until the 1st July, when Latre and Espartero succeeded in raising the siege of Bilbao, and with it the cause of liberty from great danger, had the Carlists got possession.*

* The conduct of the Cristino Generals, Mirasol inside and Alaix outside, was, in the words of even their partisan Mr. Bacon, "a burlesque on war." The whole and real work was performed by the English sailors, under Captains Ebsworth, Lapidge, Henry and Lord John Hay.—*Ford's Hand-book of Spain.*

## CHAPTER IX.

Tax riots at Amsterdam—Impolitic "Durango decree"—Financial melodrama—De Haber's account current—The Fieschi affair in Paris—Attempt on the life of the Emperor Nicholas—Money wanted by Don Carlos—I leave for London—Carlists surprised at Puente de la Reyna; butchery—Battle of Mendigorria; Carlists retire—British prisoners are not to be shot—Carlist toadyism—Cristino politics—Convents fired, monks massacred, General Basa killed—Riots in Madrid; the Ultras succeed; Mendizabal popular and active—Guergué goes to Catalonia—Cristinos fail at Hernani—General Sebastiani—Don Carlos on his way to Madrid (?)—Louis Philippe coquetting with the Northern Powers—Don Carlos should publish a reasonable manifesto—Espartero beaten at Arrigoriaga; forty English shot—I accompany M. de Haber to Paris—Calomarde, his defence of himself—Berryer, his journey to Kalish—Maugin—The Abbé Genoud—Conspiracies against Louis Philippe—Gambling—Royal fugitives at Vienna—Juan O'Donnell made prisoner in Catalonia—Thiers—The "terrible" Conde de España arrested—Paris the centre of intrigue—Colonel Gurwood—Second siege of Bilbao; Carlists fail—"Oñate Gazette"—Carlist and Cristino forces—Mendizabal raises 100,000 men—Don Sebastian joins Don Carlos—Emperor Nicholas and the Poles—Louis Philippe—Godoy—Jupiter and the Castilian—Reflections—Louis Napoleon and Donna Maria—I accompany M. de Haber to Bayonne—Cabrera's operations in Arragon; his defeat at Molina.

After the departure of the Princess of Beira I accompanied the Baron de Haber to Amsterdam, the night of the 3rd July. On entering we observed a great fire. The cause was this:—The government officials had taken furniture to the amount of £4 for taxes, and sold it at auction; a riot commenced; soldiery appeared, who ill-used the people. At night the auction-place was fired, when the national guard was called out, and cavalry galloped in

from Haarlem. Strong language was used against the prime minister, even against the king, while there was some talk of making another Belgium of Holland. The government party were about to resort to strong measures; but judicious people advised reasonable ones, which were adopted.

We found Señor Calle overpowered and ill, occasioned by the death of his friend Zumalacarregui.

M. de Haber communicated with certain personages on the Continent, begging them to come to the assistance of Don Carlos, particularly in the matter of funds. He also entered into a correspondence with foreign capitalists who sympathised with the banner of Legitimacy; when he was visited by influential parties from Germany, who entered into his views to raise money, loan or no loan.

A part of "Evans's" legion had left the Thames for Spain. The Carlists called these "hombres comprados," or bought men. It was the raising of this force that caused Don Carlos to issue the "Durango decree" on the 20th June, whereby it was declared that the Eliot convention was not applicable to the foreigners in question, which meant that if made prisoners they would be shot. This was a most impolitic proceeding on the part of Don Carlos.

The Baron and myself were invited by Calle to be present at a financial melodrama. Calle commenced in a most inflated style, as to who the Spaniards were, and who the "estrangeros" were not; the first were the soul of honour, the others the reverse, especially Frenchmen. He declared that De Haber's loan had been obstructed by French swindlers, and wound up by demanding, in the most furious tones, from Tassin's agent the contract for a loan he held. A disgusting scene of recrimination ensued. It was,

however, promised that the contract should be returned. It was my opinion now, more strongly than ever, that M. de Haber should have no more to do with Carlist loans. He got a letter from the provinces informing him that Don Carlos was most unreasonable, would hear of no explanations on financial affairs (he had no financial credit), and called all those who had to do with these matters hard names, even the funds advanced by M. de Haber a "bagatela."

On August 1st, De Haber's account current with Don Carlos showed a balance in favour of the former of over £70,000; this was independent of several heavy Carlist engagements hanging over him. In remitting the account to Don Carlos he wrote the following on the credit side:—

"I trust the King will take into consideration the services rendered, in reply to calumny and injustice. Shortly after the death of Ferdinand VII., when the King was in the interior of Portugal, I despatched funds and munitions of war to him. Fifteen days before he arrived in England, and before I knew of his movements, an officer sent by Zumalacarregui came to Paris and London, and depicted to various Legitimists the state of distress his followers were in, and if funds were not forwarded he must leave and disband his men. The said officer at last applied to me; I gave him double the sum asked.

"After the King's arrival at Portsmouth, I sent a considerable sum to the provinces.

"I was the first to put the King in funds on his arrival; and after his departure from England for Spain, my friends and self have sent considerable sums to him.

"Some hundreds of Carlist officers who had left Portugal arrived in a deplorable condition at Hamburg; they re-

ceived from my friends and myself the necessary means to proceed to Spain.

"The part I have taken in favour of the King has deprived me of a considerable sum of money, seized in Lisbon.*

"The King has commanded the purchase of the steamers 'Carlos VI.' and 'Maria Teresa;' their cost will amount to some £140,000; the engagements for their armament will be very considerable." †

The Baron left for London, to see if he could raise funds there for Don Carlos. I remained in Amsterdam, to aid Calle, who only spoke Spanish.

Europe was rather startled at what had occurred in Paris on the 28th ult. Whilst the King of the French and staff were riding along the Boulevards, from the window of a house they got a volley, as if of musketry. The King and the Duke d'Orleans were slightly wounded, Generals Mortier, Verigny, and others killed, and very many wounded. The assassin, with his infernal machine (a stand with many musket barrels fixed in it), was captured. This was the Fieschi affair.‡

A few days afterwards it was reported that an attempt had been made to assassinate the Emperor Nicholas through a Polish conspiracy.

The Cristinos had friends in London, who were working well for them. The Carlists had little or no political help, and less financial. At head-quarters there was military confusion in particular; the general cry was for money,

* 1869. Not one penny has ever been paid to M. de Haber for his advances.

† These vessels were not fitted out for want of means.

‡ Fieschi and his accomplices, Money and Pepin, were guillotined the end of the following February.

and hard words were uttered against the Northern Powers for not assisting bountifully with arms and cash.

I saw a letter from Cruz-Mayor, Don Carlos' Minister, to Calle, complaining bitterly on the score of want of money. Calle asked me how some £30,000 was to be raised at once. I suggested his trying to borrow as Royal Commissioner, offering a high rate of interest. He said he would think of it, but slunk into the slothful refuge of "mañana." I left for London at the end of the month, notifying to Calle my arrival, and giving him such news as I thought would be interesting. His reply was pompous and inflated. The contempt was great in which he held foreigners. His prayer, to be allowed soon to eat in peace the onions of Navarre, was amusing.

The Carlists having withdrawn much of their force from before Bilbao, Eraso continued the siege of Puente de la Reyna. On the 14th July, his commander of the Artillery, Vicente Reyna, and a party were surprised. Reyna and six men were shot. Mr. Burgess, in his journal, states—150 Cristinos caught our men asleep. A company of the 1st battalion of Navarre ran away. The brave Colonel Reyna endeavoured to rally them. He was shot in cold blood. I saw twenty dead about Reyna. Henningsen did his best to lead another company of Navarre, but they retreated. A Pole had confessed the previous morning his intention of assassinating Don Carlos.

On the 16th was the battle of Mendigorria. The Carlists, under Eraso and Moreno, had 8000 infantry and 300 cavalry. Cordova and Oraá commanded the Cristinos, consisting of 16,000 infantry, 900 cavalry, and four pieces of artillery. Cordova's main object was to take Don Carlos prisoner. This action was a series of fights on a succession

of eminences, obstinately defended and abandoned without disorder. Tomas Reyna, who commanded the cavalry, revenged his brother's death by a desperate and murderous charge of cavalry. After seven hours' fighting the Carlists retired.

Mr. Burgess states that on the 26th, Moreno shot the Alcalde of Treviño on account of his giving incorrect information about the Cristinos. Also that on August 2nd at Estella, Colonel Wyld and Mr. Harvey (the English Consul at Bayonne) had come with a communication from the British Government—"No success attended it." (This was probably Palmerston's more than polite request that British subjects were not to be shot, or Don Carlos would have to take the consequences.)*

There was presented an embroidered flag, worked by the Princess of Beira (then at Milan), to be in charge of the Lancers of Navarre. It was dedicated to Our Lady of Affliction (Dolorosa). The Princess had taken the title of Duchess of Arquijas; the Infante Carlos, Duke of Viana; Juan, Marques of Los Arcos; Ferdinand, Marques of Salvatierra; Don Sebastian, Duke of Guernica. This was looked upon as fearful toadyism of the "Corte." If titles were to be given, they should have been bestowed on those who had won the battles at those places.†

There were two great parties among the Cristinos:—the Liberals, who were in power; the ultra-Liberals, who

* On the 13th July, two marines (English) in the Queen of Spain's service had been shot by the Carlists.

† A year after Zumalacarregui's death, and in consequence of his friends stirring in the matter, the title of Duque de la Victoria and Conde de Zumalacarregui was conceded to him, his children, and his descendants. It was also decreed that at the conclusion of the war his remains should be disinterred and deposited in a "suntuoso mausoleo," while at the same place should be erected a monument to his memory.

were out—these latter, to produce commotion, generally unfurled the flag of the constitution of 1812, which attracted the discontented of all sorts. The principal acts of the Ultras were against the convents. On the 4th July, six convents were fired at Zaragoza and twelve monks killed. Convents were set fire to at Cordova, Murcia, and at Caspe in Arragon. At Valencia six Carlists were sacrificed. On the 25th mobs paraded the streets of Barcelona with cries of "Away to the convents!" "Death to the monks!" Six convents were blazing at once, when eighty of their inmates perished. The military was passive, and Llauder, the captain-general, fled to France. On the 4th August, General Basa appeared before Barcelona with 2000 men, hoping to restore order. He was hurled from a balcony and his body burnt. A new municipality was elected, more agreeable to the populace. Monks were massacred at Mataró, Sabadell, and Reus.

On the 7th August, the troops in Madrid were at open enmity with the urban guards. The latter sent a deputation to the Queen at La Granja, requesting her to assemble the Cortes, and claiming liberty of the press, new electoral laws, the suppression of the secular clergy, sale of national property, 200,000 men to be enrolled for the army of the north, and a new Ministry (but Mendizabal to retain the portfolio of Finance), while they uttered shouts of "Death to Toreno and Espeleta!" &c. However, Quesada quelled the tumult, but not without many persons being killed and wounded. The memory of Riego was revived; 100,000 men were drawn for by lot for the army of the north; and Mendizabal went to work in a way that astonished even his own party.

The Carlists in Catalonia begged for help, when General Guergué, with several battalions, some cavalry

and arms, was sent. "So great was the excitement that the people sallied from their homes with crucifixes, heading the troops into the villages."

On the 30th August, part of the British Legion and a body of Spaniards, under Evans, Jauregui, and Alava, sallied from S. Sebastian and threatened Hernani, but were compelled by Gomez to desist. The Cristino account gives their loss at 112 killed and wounded. The Carlists shot seven or eight of their prisoners. In revenge fourteen Carlists were shot.

On the 4th September I had an interview with the Bishop of Leon, then residing at No. 2, Hanover Square. He was full of hope in the success of his royal master, but upon what grounds I could not understand.

The Baron de Haber and myself resided at Thompson's Hotel, Cavendish Square, when, between 9 and 10 p.m., on the 15th, we heard a report as if of a gun. The papers next day announced that the life of General Sebastiani, the French Ambassador, had been attempted by two Frenchmen, who had attached a hand grenade to the railing of his house in Cavendish Square. A woman passing was wounded.

The Baron appeared to stand almost alone in perceiving that Don Carlos' position was a very serious one, which the Bishop of Leon and very many others would not believe; they declared that Don Carlos was on his way to Madrid.

Louis Philippe was again doing his best to make friends with the Northern Powers; could he have done so, he might have helped Don Carlos.

I often paid the Bishop of Leon a visit—if on business, in the morning; in the evening he generally looked cheerful, smoking a paper cigar, and playing tresillo—

Spanish whist. I gave him the news of the day, often of an unpleasant nature; his surrounding made their information more palatable to His Excellency. My last words to him (and in private), before I left for Paris, were on the subject of the absolute necessity of Don Carlos publishing a rational manifesto, so that Spain might know what sort of government it had to expect from him; that until he did so, many who were ready to join him would pause; moreover, in the absence of such a document, there would be the greatest difficulty in making any public financial arrangements in favour of the "Causa." I got for answer, "You are right—veremos!"

On the 11th September Espartero left Bilbao for Vittoria. On arriving at Arrigoriaga, Moreno, Castor, and Maroto fell so vigorously on him, that although the garrison of Bilbao came out, as well as some of Evans's Legion, Espartero had to beat a disastrous retreat to the city. He was full of shame at the conduct of his men; he was seen to tear his hair and court death. He received two wounds. Independently of 200 Cristinos drowned, 270 were wounded; of the killed there is no record.

Mr. Burgess says:—Espartero was surprised, and there was firing from 7 a.m. until 6 p.m., when the Carlists marched quietly to within four miles of Bilbao; they took 500 prisoners, including 40 English. The following day the English and their officers were shot, the Carlists carrying out the tenour of the barbarous "Durango decree."

On October 1st I went with Baron de Haber to Paris. During his stay in London, if he had not done much financially for Don Carlos, his efforts politically were of some avail. He hoped to raise funds in Paris, also to be otherwise useful.

I visited Señor Calomarde, who had changed his residence from the fashionable Rue de la Paix for the market-place of St. Honoré—three-pair-stairs-back apartments, and pretending to be poor. He had a very swarthy, and not a prepossessing, managing man with him, who looked as if he would upon a pinch handle a blunderbuss or poniard in defence of his little master. Calomarde had his general visits of Carlists during the day; but his more intimate friends at his *tertulia* in the evening. He asked me how the Spanish question was regarded in England. I told him the Whigs would continue to oppose Don Carlos, and that the Tories would not put themselves much out of their way for him; that it entirely depended on himself and the effect he could produce upon Spain in general. I got for answer, "Pues, amigo"—(Is it so, friend?). He gave me a copy of his work, "Reflexiones Politicas sobre el estado de España." The object of it was to try and explain away his doings in regard to the publication of the "Expediente" of the 29th March, 1830, when Ferdinand VII. made him, with the other ministers, sign the Royal Decree dispossessing Don Carlos of his rights to the crown, at the period when Queen Cristina gave signs of pregnancy, and when it was supposed she might have a female child.

About this time I became acquainted with some of the political celebrities. One was the Legitimist, M. Berryer, lawyer, orator, and deputy; his appearance was that of a quiet Englishman. I subsequently learnt that during the preceding summer he had been to Prague to visit Charles X.; thence he proceeded to Kalish, and had an interview with the Emperor Nicholas. His account of the conversation with the Czar is curious. "With regard to the Bourbons," said the autocrat, "there is nothing to be

done at present. The King has abdicated his crown, the Dauphin has followed his example, and the Duc de Bordeaux is too young to enter the lists and enforce his pretensions. Things must go on as they are for some time; and if the French nation adhere to Louis Philippe, they may last till his death; but we, the three Powers" (Russia, Austria, and Prussia) "are determined never to acknowledge the Duc d'Orleans as King; we will never permit him to marry any of the branches of our families, or consider him as having any claim to the throne occupied by his father." *

I became acquainted with another celebrated lawyer, M. Maugin, a Liberal, and who had his difficulties with Louis Philippe; with the Abbé Genoud, a bold and defiant writer, the "Thunderer" of the Legitimist *Gazette de France*. "There was the fiery Genoud, in the days before he was an abbé, burning to descend into the arena, but whose professional avocations then compelled him to be a simple reporter. He did go down to the floor of the House, but when he got there he failed to do much good for himself or anybody else."

* Berryer died at Angerville, 29th Nov., 1866. He was a Royalist Volunteer during the "Cent Jours." After Waterloo he defended Ney and Cambronne; Lamennais in 1826; Chateaubriand in 1833; and Louis Napoleon Bonaparte in 1840. He resisted the *coup d'état* of 1851. Elected bâtonnier in 1852, he was one of the forty of the French Academy in 1854, and was invited by the English Bar to a banquet in the Temple Hall in 1865. The following is the last letter written by Berryer:—

To the Count de Chambord. Oh, Monseigneur!—Oh, my King, they tell me I am dying; and I die without seeing the triumph of your hereditary rights, and the consecration of the establishment and development of those liberties which our country requires. I pray to Heaven for yourself, for the Queen, and our dear France. That this prayer may be the better heard, I leave life armed with all the weapons of our holy religion. —BERRYER.

The court of the Citizen King was commencing to be rather exclusive; still one was allowed to perambulate the over-gilded halls of the Tuileries and examine the gaudy specimens of French art. The galleries of the Louvre, particularly in its paintings, told of episodes of peace and war, of the gigantic slaughterings of Bonaparte. The stately mansions of the old nobility, generally enclosed, could only be gained admittance to by one's being considered a Legitimist. I had access to two or three, where there was little else but conspiring against Louis Philippe. Walking about the streets of Paris was most fatiguing, on account of the want of pavement; and, as the drainage was defective, the interior of the city was in places positively stinking. The only streets that had pavement were the Rue Castiglione, Rue de la Paix, and a portion of the Rue de Rivoli; but there was pretty fair walking on the Boulevarts. The Champs Elysées were in good order, but the Bois de Boulogne was knee-deep in dust in dry weather. Thieves prowled about unfrequented streets at night; once I had a run for it near the Boulevart de Capucines.

Numberless were the *ganguets*, or dancing-houses, outside the barriers, where wine and provisions paid no *octroi*, or city toll. Then there were the gambling-houses in the Palais Royal, and the more fashionable one of Frascati.* The winners for a time would lead a life of dissipation; the losers would save enough to buy a few pounds of charcoal to asphixiate themselves, or rush madly to the banks of the Seine, take the fatal plunge, and the next day their lifeless

* M. Benazet was the proprietor of the famous Frascati at the corner of the Rue Richelieu. When public gambling was suppressed by Louis Philippe, he transferred his caisse, his rouge-et-noir and roulette tables, his band of croupiers and his brood of decoy-ducks, to Baden-Baden.

bodies be found stretched out on the slabs of the Morgue.

About the 12th it was known in the Paris Legitimist circle that there was to be a gathering of royal fugitives at Vienna, including Dom Miguel, the Princess of Beira, Don Carlos' three sons, Don Sebastian, the Duchess of Berri, &c. It was rumoured that Dom Miguel might go to Don Carlos, thence to the interior of Portugal, where his party was not inactive and the Liberals in commotion. However, the plottings of the Miguelites in Paris and London did not appear of a satisfactory nature.

Guergué, who had left Navarre with powers to organize the Carlist bands in Catalonia, had not been successful. He had been obliged to raise the siege of Olot, where his colonel of cavalry, Juan O'Donnell, was taken and imprisoned.

M. Thiers was writing much in the *Journal des Debats*. Some of his articles had Carlist tendencies, or was it mystification ? *

On the 16th, Señor Calomarde was in an intense state of excitement at the arrest of the "terrible" Conde de España, two days before, on the French frontier. Calomarde said that the Conde had long since wished to push on from Catalonia to Madrid, but Don Carlos replied that the proper moment had not yet arrived. The only consolation that could be offered was that the Conde was safe. He had been joined by El Muchacho and Samso and 130 men to escort him. Samso proposed a route which he did not approve of, and proceeded on one he had made out, although cautioned by El Muchaco. The party came upon

* When Thiers was Minister in 1836, there was no doubt as to his politics, for he soon came out dead against Don Carlos.

a French post at Laurent, and were arrested. Thus Calomarde, who had found funds for this, would have to arrange for another opportunity, and in this way try to make his peace with Don Carlos.*

Paris was the centre of every species of home and foreign intrigues, and Louis Philippe must have had a trying time of it. Still all the amusements were going on, the people being surrounded by legions of spies. Legitimists, Carlists, and others unfriendly to the Government had to resort to all sorts of manœuvres in forwarding and receiving letters, and seldom lost any. For fear of the inroads of the police much of the correspondence was destroyed after perusal.

I saw Colonel Gurwood on his way from the Basque provinces to London. His information about Don Carlos, whom he had visited, was not favourable, and he gave it as his opinion that his acting on the "Durango decree" by shooting the English who had gone with Evans, would tell much against him.

The Carlists were besieging Bilbao a second time. On October 23rd † they carried the undefended positions, and had Eguia occupied the Begonia hill and the opposite Miravilla, the "ciudad invicta" would have been taken; but the English blue-jackets under Lord John Hay came to the rescue. Such, indeed, was the destitution of the army, that its officers wished to retire and leave Bilbao to its fate. Then it was that Captain Lapidge and Colonel

* "Mariana," vol. iii., p. 340.—The Conde de España's "Gobierno Sultanico," in Catalonia was celebrated for scenes of blood and despotism against the Liberals. On the 19th November, 1828, he sent to the scaffold *thirteen*; 26th February, 1829, *eleven*; 30th June, *nine*. Fifteen of his prisoners committed suicide.

† Ford's "Hand-Book of Spain."

Wyld pointed out the true line of defence, "after a sixty-days' siege, on which the whole question of the war turned, and one short day more would have exhausted both the townsfolk and their enemies."

The first number of the "Oñate Gazette," conducted by Nicolas Sans, rector of the University, made its appearance on the 27th October. Till this period the Carlists had no means of communicating with their friends, except by occasional bulletins, which commenced in the autumn of 1834.

After the death of Eraso (of consumption) the Conde de Casa-Eguia had the command. However, Don Carlos and the "Real" or royal head-quarters, had the supreme military and political control. The information from the "Real" was, that Don Carlos was "forming extensive plans for his advance on Madrid," and had just reviewed twenty-two of his battalions near Vittoria. His force in the provinces was about 33,000 men, with cavalry and artillery in proportion, formerly called rebels, now the royal army of Don Carlos.

The force of the Cristinos was put down at 61,000, exclusive of 21,000 Portuguese, British, and French, making in all 82,000 men. The *Journal des Debats* observed: "Car il semble, dans cette singulier campagne, que les deux armées courent sans cesse l'une après l'autre avec le ferme dessin de ne pas se battre dès qu'elles se trouvent en présence."

The Whig Government in England permitted the enlistment of troops in June, and by the end of July a body of 6000 men, ultimately increased to 10,000, landed on the north coast of Spain under Evans. In September the French Legion of 1000 men, under Baron Swarce, crossed the frontier, and the French Algerine Legion of 3000 men entered Catalonia about the end of

October. The Portuguese division of some 8000, which had been recruiting since January, entered Spain about the same time as the Algerine; in all 18,000 men.

A French cordon d'armée was on the frontier, ready to assist the Cristinos whenever it suited the policy of Louis Philippe; English men-of-war came to their help, particularly on the north coast; and Mendizabal got Spanish loans quoted in London, Paris, and Amsterdam.

Don Carlos still got funds from the provinces, and from some of the Church party, but was mostly dependent upon the Legitimist Courts. He had no financial credit on any exchange, and but little with private parties.

Mendizabal was reducing expenditure, confiscating church property, and managing, in his own peculiar off-hand style, revolutionists, republicans, loyalists, runaway royalists who had returned to Madrid; and renegados, even to Cristina and her surroundings, including Muñoz her favourite. The Carlists, as was observed, had la Santa Religion, la Causa, el Rey, la Legitimidad, las Montañas and their brave defenders; but Zumalacarregui was no more. He would not have lost so many precious opportunities for terminating the war one way or another.

In November, Mendizabal commenced the conscription of 100,000 men, from the ages of 18 to 40—about 20 for each town. Forty pounds was to exonerate anyone drawn. Thus the treasury got funds, and the army recruits; the Cristino funds went up, which the Carlists did not admire. "It was an herculean effort to sweep the Carlists out of Spain."

Don Sebastian, who had failed to organise the Carlist bands in Catalonia in July, 1834, joined his uncle, Don Carlos, at Tolosa on the 6th.

Paris papers gave the reply of the Emperor Nicholas

to a deputation at Warsaw, as he was going through that city:—"I know you well; have a care, and behave yourselves, or Warsaw may have a sign-post with these words —'Here stood rebellious Warsaw.'"

I went to the Opera. There were present the Queen of the French and her daughter, the Queen of the Belgians, the two Princesses and the Duke of Orleans, in the centre box; the Kings of the French and Belgians in a stage box. These personages were scarcely looked at or recognised. The royalty of Louis Philippe was at a discount. As I was somewhat behind the political scenes, I knew that storms for the Citizen-King were fast brewing. The Queen of the French looked proud, but sad.

Godoy, once the ruler of Spain and the possessor of immense wealth, was living in Paris in but indifferent circumstances. The following appeared in the French papers:—"In the press, the Memoirs of the Prince of Peace, Don Manuel Godoy, Duke of Alcudia, Prince of Bassano, Count of Evoramonte, formerly Minister of the King of Spain, Generalissimo of his Armies, Grand Admiral, &c., &c., &c." In the preface to the English edition he says:—"Charles IV. is dead, Ferdinand has descended to the tomb. I am, therefore, permitted to speak out, and to soothe my troubled heart." (!)

The following was told me by Señor Calomarde:—In olden times a Castilian had laboured diligently in his fields, but fearing a late harvest of his beans, thus called upon Jupiter—"O good Father, I have worked hard, and should my crop fall short, it will be sad indeed; still, mortals should be contented with their lot." Jupiter heard the pious supplication, and, descending to earth, said: "Mortal, I have heard thy prayer of resignation; what wouldst thou?" "That my crop of beans be early

ripened, and not eaten by locusts." "Thy prayer is granted; what more?" "Let my wheat fields have thy blessing." "'Tis well; what more?" "Could I have a bull and a cow?" "Very well." "A horse and a mare?" "Yes." "A ram and a ewe?" "To be sure." "A wife?" "Oh, yes, *you shall have a wife;* what else wouldst thou?" "A good Government." Jupiter became enraged. "Miserable mortal, I thought to have made thee happy; I was wrong to give more than asked for at first. A good Government in Spain! Yes, the devil shall rule ye." Lightning was seen, thunder rolled above, and a deluge of rain descended. The Castilian acknowledged the reproof; however, he had an early and abundant crop of beans.*

Very many now said in Spain, "Let us have really a constitutional form of Government," but this, as understood in England, the Spaniard had no idea of, so Jupiter's view of the matter was most natural. Spain was now in a writhing state, between Carlist absolutism and Church rule—Cristino military monarchy and the revolt of large masses of the people. Spain was undergoing a fierce and sanguinary trial; but the sympathy of the Liberals in England, France, and elsewhere was most important to the Cristinos, particularly as Don Carlos would not make known his political views; and although there were many about him of rank despotic principles, there were others,

* When Ferdinand III. captured Seville and died, being a saint he escaped purgatory, and Santiago presented him to the Virgin, who forthwith desired him to ask any favours for beloved Spain. The monarch petitioned for oil, wine, and corn—conceded; for sunny skies, brave men and pretty women—allowed; for cigars, relics, garlic, and bulls—by all means; *for a good Government*—"Nay, nay," said the Virgin, "that can never be granted; for, were it bestowed, not an angel would remain a day longer in heaven."

mostly among the military, who had humanitarian ideas of government. These suggested judicious measures, but they were not acted on. One of these was the rescinding of the "Durango decree," and the invitation of the men of the British Legion to leave it and come into the Carlist camp, where they would be well treated and forwarded to their homes. At this period it was stated that only one million out of the twelve of the population in Spain had declared themselves as Carlists. There were, however, a large number of quiescent Carlist partizans all over Spain, as well as many "Ojalateros"—people whose prayer was, would to God that Don Carlos might succeed—amongst the grandees, churchmen, professional men, and *employés*.

Many Miguelites in and out of Portugal were planning how they might again bring about a marriage between Donna Maria (a widow since May this year) and Dom Miguel; but he had two rivals—one, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg; the other, Prince Louis Napoleon.* (She married Prince Ferdinand in April, 1836.)

In December, Ouvrard and Franchessin threw out feelers in the *Messager*, as "intermédiaires" in a loan for Don Carlos, which they privately intimated would be

* Louis Napoleon had fixed his eyes on the youthful widowed Queen of Portugal, and he would not have been indisposed to have become her husband; but the matter did not go on quite right, in spite of the exertions made by his relatives. On December 14th, 1835, Louis Napoleon, in an official letter, declined the Portuguese candidateship in these words:—"Convinced that the great name I bear will not always be a cause of exclusion from my fellow-citizens, because it reminds them of fifteen glorious years, I calmly await, in a free and hospitable land, the time when the nation will take back to its bosom those persons who were banished by the foreigners of 1815. The hope of some day being able to serve France as a soldier and a citizen strengthens my mind, and is more in my eyes than all the thrones in the world." — *Napoleon III. and his Court.* By a Retired Diplomatist.

under the auspices of the Emperor of Russia (?) They *promised* Don Carlos millions.

I saw in Paris Mr. Honan, correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, and Mr. Walton, of the *Post*, on their way to Don Carlos. I was told they were the bearers of some good advice from the Tories. The Baron de Haber had been making out the best case he could to his friends on the Continent as to the position of the Carlists, politically, militarily, and financially, which was rather up-hill work.

At the request of certain personages M. de Haber consented to pay a visit to Don Carlos, and give him, as was considered, some politic views for the future, which were much required. I accompanied him south, arriving at Bayonne the end of December.

In Catalonia the Carlists did not gain strength. Sheltered by their fortresses, the Cristinos were enabled to suppress the desultory efforts of the independent chiefs.

In Arragon* Quilez wished to have the command, but the soldiery decided for Cabrera, who was nearly taken at Hoz, in April; he saved himself by throwing his cloak in his enemy's face. He became ill, when Quilez took his place. Towards the end of the month Cabrera made a dash at his "persecutor," Nogueras, whose horse was wounded. By the middle of May, Quilez, Torner, Forcadell, and Añon joined Cabrera; their force was 900 men. Zumalacarregui wrote Cabrera, giving him notice of the Eliot convention, adding, that if the Cristinos gave no quarter, he was to give none. In June, with much fighting, Cabrera took prisoners, muskets, and baggage; indeed, it was from the enemy he got his men armed and clothed. His daring and suc-

* "Vida de Cabrera."

cesses caused the authorities at Tolosa to arrest his mother on the 9th July. On the 16th, in a hand-to-hand fight at Yesa, he left 350 Cristinos dead on the field; arms, baggage, and money fell to him. The 26th August Forcadell and Torner joined Cabrera near San Mateo, when the Cristinos suffered. Among the prisoners taken at Jana were fourteen of the free corps, or miqueletes; these were shot. The reason was, not long before one Vidal, who headed a free corps, had been exchanged for a priest; Vidal promised to retire from the war; he recommenced, and gave no quarter. Quilez attacked in October and routed Nogueras, who was wounded. This caused a tumult at Zaragoza, where the populace is said to have murdered twelve Carlists; and, to quell them, others were executed. Cabrera had most desperate fighting at Viñaroz, where relatives slaughtered each other. In November he was named Commandant-General of Arragon; he now occupied himself in organising his forces, forming hospitals, arsenals, &c. Nogueras issued in December a sanguinary proclamation; Mina another; Cabrera followed their example. On the 13th he surprised a Cristino column, making 900 prisoners, taking also over 900 muskets, and baggage. On the 15th, his force being 4500 infantry and 450 cavalry, he came to blows with General Palearea at Molina. After a very severe engagement, in which he was wounded, his cloak having got seven balls through it, he had to retire. Palearea's account is not disputed, that Cabrera lost 700 killed and 400 wounded; that his loss in muskets was 2000, and that 400 prisoners were exchanged. Cabrera now gave his men "fifteen days' leave to change their shirts, rest at their homes, then return to their duty."

## CHAPTER X.

Bayonne, head-quarters for Carlist agents—English newspaper correspondents—Lord Ranelagh—The French General Harispe in charge of French frontier—Carlist and Cristino news—Legitimist courts send funds to Don Carlos—Exaltados and Pasteleros—Siege of Guetaria—Plan to place Don Carlos on the throne—Massacre of Carlists at Barcelona, including Juan O'Donnell—Baron de Haber goes to head-quarters—La Señora O'Donnell—Desertion from the Legion to the Carlists—Defeat of Cordova and allies at Arlaban—Anecdote of Espartero—Carlist and Cristino bulletins—The British Legion, their sufferings, deaths by typhus—Baron de Haber saves English and Spanish prisoners—The Duke of Wellington and convention for exchange of prisoners; non-success of dynastic arrangements—Baron de los Valles—Mendizabal attacks Church property—The Canonigo Batanero's raid to Valladolid—Mina's shootings in Barcelona—The French assist Cordova with arms—Eguia takes Balmaceda and Mercadillo—Sortie from S. Sebastian driven back—Cabrera's mother shot; he orders four of his female prisoners and twenty-six others to be shot—His operations in Arragon—Plencia capitulates to the Carlists—De Haber returns from Don Carlos, fails in his mission, no chance of any progress—Austrian view of settling the war—Arrest of Mr. Hawkins by French police, fatal duels arise out of it—Carlist successes in Catalonia—Cristino despatches taken—Mr. Honan sent away from Madrid—Eguia beats Espartero at Orduña—Political doings in Madrid—Louis Philippe and Spanish marriages—Ouvrard's new Carlist loan—Intervention of England and France—De Haber leaves for Paris, I remain—Shootings in Spain.

JANUARY 1st, 1836.—We put up at Detroyat's Hotel St. Etienne, the rendezvous of Carlist agents. Mr. Honan,*

* He soon returned to Bayonne, on his way to Catalonia and Madrid; but Mendizabal ordered him out of the country. He wrote "The Court and Camp of Don Carlos," on his return to England.

correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, and Mr. Walton,* of the *Morning Post* (both Tory papers), had gone through to the Carlist head-quarters. Mr. Mitchell, the Bayonne correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, was as good as a brigade to Don Carlos; he had been previously in the Cristino camp, but was requested to leave.

Lord Ranelagh was at Bayonne; he had been to Don Carlos, and was going to Madrid to see if he could aid the Carlist cause. There were many French and Cristino spies at Bayonne who must have picked up much that was doing by the Carlists. The French General Harispe, who commanded a large French force on the frontier, had just been made a peer of France, and decorated by Queen Cristina.

The Madrid Government was in a turbulent state, but resolved against Don Carlos, who was accused of inactivity; but then it was the depth of winter and unfavourable for military operations. It was asserted that the heads at the Carlist quarters wanted rational brains; that the Basques did not admire leaving their mountains unless they could be joined by a large number of troops from other portions of Spain, which did not appear very probable. The existence of the British, French, and Portuguese auxiliaries made the Carlists very wroth; "no quarter" was to be their lot. The Basques were badly paid, but they did not grumble much, for they were fighting for their "Fueros," their religion, and the King, or the old system; the Cristinos to conquer their enemy—for a new and progressive system.

The Carlist infantry numbered about 35,000 men, one-

* Mr. Walton, I believe, afterwards went to Madrid. He wrote his "Revolutions of Spain" in 1837.

fourth prisoners and deserters; their rations were nominally 1lb. of meat, 1lb. of bread, a pint of wine, and a real (2¼d.) in cash daily. It was believed that within the last six months the Legitimist Courts had sent about £800,000 to Don Carlos. At Eybar muskets and swords were made at 24s. each. Shell and shot were manufactured at Elorio, and gunpowder principally at Zudaria. Since the war commenced the Carlists had taken 40,000 muskets. They had just purchased some 7,000 muskets and ammunition at Bayonne. The Madrid Government was composed mainly of "Exaltados," or ultra-Liberals; the others were the "Pasteleros," who opposed reform. Mendizabal had arranged the Queen's speech; it was a reforming document; his motto was, "To govern with all and for all."

The Carlists commenced the siege of Guetaria on the 29th December; after two days they effected a breach; the Cristino positions were taken at the point of the bayonet, when they retired to the castle. Mr. Burgess was informed that all had been put to the sword by the Carlists in the village.

A General Freire went through Bayonne into Spain; the following was told of him:—Some time before Ferdinand's death, and when the Liberals had promised to assist in placing Isabella on the throne, Freire, a blunt old soldier, went to Don Carlos telling him he had a plan which would secure him the crown. "Your plan?" asked Don Carlos. Freire replied, "Get yourself into the balcony of the palace, and cry out lustily 'C——o, I am Carlos V.'" This swearing plan rather staggered Don Carlos, but he said, "Señor, do you think I cannot say 'C——o'? Please to give over swearing."

Don Carlos could never be brought to make any open

political move during the lifetime of Ferdinand, believing that when the event of his death took place, his party would be strong enough to place him on the throne.

MASSACRE OF CARLISTS.—Extract from a letter dated Bayonne, the 13th January, copies of which were sent by a Carlist to the Embassies of the Legitimist Courts in Paris: —"Not a *Madrid Gazette* victory, but a slaughtering one, has been gained by Mina, worthy of the Exaltados. The fury of the Barcelona mob soon convinced him that his person was not safe, so he fell back with all his disposable force on Manresa. The Carlist Burgo had defeated one of his divisions, and what Mina could not accomplish in the field, he effected by the Exaltados against Carlist prisoners. On the 4th the mob paraded the streets, shouting the ferocious Tragala song, Death to the Carlists! and vivas for the Constitution. The garrison was ordered under arms, and the drawbridge was raised; but the mob climbed over the walls of the citadel, and, without interruption, massacred over a hundred Carlist prisoners, including Colonel Juan O'Donnell; then, parading the streets, murdered those suspected of Carlism. Mina's plan is to govern by sanguinary means, and awe the people. Since the formation of the Liberal Directing Junta of Barcelona in the summer of last year, Mina and Mendizabal have been successful agitators, and submitted to a ferocious people. Secret agents were appointed to denounce peaceable inhabitants, and misery is the lot of very many families."

Mr. Honan had returned to Bayonne from the provinces,* and had gone by the French frontier to Catalonia,

* He thus describes Don Carlos:—"He was looking thinner than when in Madrid; fatigue and cares had put furrows in his cheeks, and, though not a handsome man, his dark, full eye gave expression to his face."

arriving at Gerona two days after the massacres. He says the Carlist prisoners were murdered with diabolical regularity. The first victim was Juan O'Donnell; he had a presentiment of his fate, for when made prisoner near Figueras he requested to be sent to Navarre to benefit by the Eliot convention, which was refused. He wrote to his wife that she would never see him again. She had succeeded in inducing Cordova to exchange him for three of the Queen's officers, and was at Bayonne about to carry the glad tidings to him. O'Donnell crossed his arms on his chest and received his death blow; sixty-seven, including seven officers, perished under the fire of their assassins. The body of O'Donnell was then tied with cords, thrown over the wall, and dragged through the city. The murderers stopped opposite the theatre, and lighting a fire—separating the head and kicking it about the streets—burned the body. They then rushed to two prisons, and finding twenty Carlists in each, shot them one by one, in all 107!

The Cristinos observe: The Carlists besieged in the fastness of Hort, had made it known that for every shell sent into it, they would shoot a Cristino prisoner, which they commenced doing, throwing the bodies outside. This information was received in Barcelona with the news that Tristany and Claveria had butchered two companies of Cristino Nationals near to Esparraguera, and that these were the main causes of the doings of the 4th January.

On the 12th, at the request of Don Carlos, Baron de Haber went to head-quarters, then at Oñate, whilst I remained at Bayonne.

M. Tassein, one of the Carlist loan contractors, had been here for some time; but as Don Carlos would

listen no longer to his new financial schemes, he left for Paris.

On the 16th La Señora O'Donnell came to Bayonne from head-quarters, with a Cristino lieutenant-colonel and two lieutenants in exchange for her husband; as yet she did not know of his death. I was informed that she was not made acquainted with her cruel loss until the 18th. She resided at the Chateaux Huraeux, with some of her relatives. I occasionally visited the family when I had any news I thought might be acceptable. It was a house of mourning indeed.

There had been desertion from the British Legion; at this date a whole company and some cavalry had gone over. I saw several of the officers of the Legion pass through Bayonne for England. They found soldiering in Spain very tough work, and typhus was fearful, and increasing at Vittoria.

During the winter months the Cristinos were preparing for a grand campaign with over 20,000 men. On the 16th Cordova and Espartero, with their divisions and the Algerine Legion led the centre and left to attack the defile of Arlaban, which was well protected by Goñi. Evans had the right; he moved on Mendijur, which was obstinately defended. On the 17th Villareal took the offensive, and, falling furiously on the Cristinos, dislodged them from the Venta of Arlaban and the positions they occupied the previous evening. This decided repulse is known as the Battle of Arlaban, and completely deranged Cordova's plans. The defeated generals met at Vittoria full of mutual exasperation, each imputing to the others their common discomfiture. A Carlist division had marched towards Vittoria, when they had very hard fighting, and lost 500 in killed and wounded. It is

asserted that the Spaniards, seeing some of the English Legion deserting, shot them; also that the Cristinos shot many of their prisoners.

The Cristinos write: That the operations were frustrated, in consequence of the excessive ardour of Cordova commencing the attack of the centre before the appointed time. As the Carlists lost 500 men and the Cristinos 600, the former claimed a victory. Cordova returned to Vittoria, persuaded that the war was not to be ended by ordinary means, but rather by shutting the Carlists up in their mountains by lines and fortresses; but this would require a much larger force than the Queen had at her command.

The following was told of Espartero: A year ago he was marching from S. Sebastian to Vittoria, when he espied some Carlists on a mountain ridge; he made for them, but on arrival at the spot, they had descended to the valley, to which he did not go. He dictated a despatch to his aide, for the Minister of War:—"The enemy in great numbers have been defeated, and but for the darkness of the night, not one would have escaped. I put myself at the head of my brave troops, and led them to victory. I have to inform your Excellency that my aide performed prodigies of valour, and had two horses killed under him. I have taken 300 prisoners and 400 muskets." By return of the courier, Espartero received a letter of thanks from the Queen, and the aide was decorated. The Minister wrote that the 400 muskets could be forwarded to certain recruits. Espartero replied that, the guns being in bad order, he had sent them to be repaired; when ready the Minister's orders would be obeyed.

A Carlist bulletin stated about this time that, out of 12,000 of the enemy, they had destroyed the greater number! A Cristino bulletin published that 3400

Carlists were annihilated, when only forty-five bodies of the enemy were counted on the field.

THE BRITISH LEGION.—The sufferings and desertion of many to the Carlists are well known. Early in January they commenced going over, and in a short time formed into a separate corps. There were many lancers with their horses; these received a doubloon each. These deserters became very troublesome, and the Carlists were glad at last to get rid of them.

On reference to the "Journal of the movements of the British Legion," we find that Cordova and Espartero wished to concentrate an army of 20,000 men at Vittoria, and early in the spring make a dash at the Carlists; the British Legion, under Evans, to join them. It left Bilbao in November, commencing a most fatiguing and depressing march for the raw recruits; often exposed, in their most roundabout route, to heavy rains, snow and ice; also to Carlist "banditti." Officers were dismissed for continued absence; frequent were the court-martials, when several returned to England. The Legion got to Vittoria the 4th December. They were rather surprised at Espartero shooting ten of his own men (Chapelgorris) for having attacked the Carlist village of Bastida, plundered the church and shot the priest. Vittoria is spoken of thus: "Its air promises more destruction to the Legion than the bullets of the Carlists."

By the 8th they were burying six to eight a day who had died of fever. After the affair of Arlaban, "Vittoria was truly the city of death. Day after day the poor fellows were carried in bullock carts to their graves. Typhus of the worst kind made fearful ravages; forty-six officers of the Legion had died from 14th January to 20th April of typhus."

Shaw, in his memoirs, speaks of the march with 6000 from Bilbao to Vittoria as a fearful scene of confusion.

By the 13th January the Legion could only muster 4000 bayonets. The Cristinos had 18,000 infantry, six batteries of artillery, and 1400 horse. Shaw says that "the quietest day in Oporto (1832-3) we had more firing in one afternoon than there was on the 16th and 17th at the 'Glorious battle of Arlaban.'" The weather was dreadful; by 29th January, sickness was increasing; 15 officers had died, and 40 were sick; 300 men had died; there were 1000 sick, four hundred of these would die; 14 medical men had died, and 7 officers had resigned.

I heard from the Baron de Haber that at Arlaban several of Evans's men were taken prisoners, and would have been shot had it not been for his timely intercession; amongst them were the father and brothers of Madame Albertazzi, the opera-singer; they belonged to one of the bands of Evans's Legion.

Baron de Haber wrote me from Germany, August, 1868:—"I do not recollect which of the London papers the following article was published in: 'In doing justice to Baron de Haber, by whose intercessions, and not by those, as has been supposed, of Don Sebastian, the lives of prisoners were spared, we promote the cause of humanity. The Baron has successfully exerted himself on this point; and we know that when he was in England he expressed great sorrow and regret at the publication of the bloody Durango decree. Honour be to all those, of whatever party, who lessen the horrors of war, and save a brave, even if mistaken, soldiery from the hands of the executioner.'"

Extracts from letter addressed by the Baron de Haber to Cruz-Mayor, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Oñate, January 24th, 1836:—

"Sir,—I cannot close so happy a day without expressing to H. M. Carlos V., through the medium of your Excellency, my thanks and gratitude for the boon granted to me of the lives of those persons whose fate had been already sealed. The prisoners thus saved, when on the brink of the grave, must for ever pray for the King. What a sublime revenge for the butcheries committed lately at Barcelona. Let Europe contemplate the merciful conduct of Charles V., and compare it with the horrors sanctioned by the partisans of the Usurpatrice!

"It is not yet twelve months since I had the good fortune to obtain a similar result to a request made to the Duke of Wellington in favour of the twenty-seven Carlist officers taken prisoners on board an English vessel. The noble Duke at once sent a courier to Madrid, begging of the Government the lives of the unfortunate officers. All were saved!

"Be assured, sir, that Divine Providence protects the cause of humanity, and punishes those whose hardness of heart cannot pronounce 'Pardon.'"

When the news arrived in London of the capture of the said Carlist officers, the Baron de Haber, being well aware of the murderous no-quarter doings of both Cristinos and Carlists on their prisoners, suggested to the Princess of Beira that the Duke of Wellington might use his powerful influence to save them, moreover to state to the Duke the necessity for a convention for the exchange of prisoners. De Haber saw the Duke, who attended at once to the matter; the officers were saved, and the Duke shortly entrusted Lord Eliot with a convention for the exchange of prisoners, and to see if any dynastic arrangement could be come to, so that the war might cease.

I now became acquainted with Captain Henningsen,

at Bayonne; he informed me that, on Lord Eliot proposing to Don Carlos to come to terms with his opponents, the latter replied that he had better see Zumalacarregui on the matter. Accordingly, Lord Eliot and Colonel Wyld, when out riding one day, spoke to Zumalacarregui on the subject, when he observed, "Don Carlos may do as he pleases, but whilst I have one Basque by my side, I shall sustain the cause we commenced." The only result of the mission was the convention for the exchange of prisoners. It is believed that Don Carlos might have made good terms then (the basis being the withdrawal of his personal claim to the crown), and even subsequently; but it was not to be so arranged.

At the end of the month I saw Baron de los Valles in Bayonne. After his political imprisonment in Paris for some months, when he wrote his "Chapitre de la Histoire de Don Carlos"; he went to England to communicate with the Bishop of Leon; thence to Germany to the Princess of Beira, and was at the present time the bearer of correspondence to Don Carlos.

There was now great confusion in Madrid. Mendizabal was not acting on the mañana system, but was reforming with a heavy hand, and was much opposed by the "Outs." He offered to resign, but the Queen would not hear of it. The Legislature was dissolved, and another was to meet on the 22nd March. In the interim he proposed to look into financial affairs and raise funds. The decree for the sale of the greater portion of Church property was his great reform.*

* From 1836 to 1844 this measure is said to have produced 10,340 millions of reals (over £103,000,000), although the pulpit, the confessional, and even the Administration generally, did their best to oppose his measures. Under other circumstances it would have been double the amount.

Towards the end of January the Canonigo Batanero, after defeating a Cristino detachment, crossed the Ebro. Disarming the Urbanos on his route, he marched through Castile, reaching the vicinity of Guadalajara; but, learning that Quesada was coming in his pursuit, he made for Valladolid; snow, however, having fallen heavily, and his followers being crippled, they dispersed, to await more favourable weather. At one time he was left alone. He and his men eventually regained the northern provinces with trifling loss, after secreting the arms they had captured.

On the 4th February we heard that Mina had shot twenty-eight of the principal inhabitants of Barcelona and arrested many, some of whom were sent to the galleys at Ceuta. There were cries of "Death to Mina! let us serve him as we did Basa." He had to keep close to his well-protected quarters in Monte Jouy.

Cordova, having failed in his front movement, wished to attack the Carlists in the rear; with this object he hastened to Pamplona, where, being in the vicinity of the French frontier, he had the opportunity of conferring with Harispe, of which he availed himself. The French Government gave Cordova a supply of arms and ammunition, and Harispe proffered him some military advice; but he would not allow Cordova's troops to pass through French territory, and thus come into the Carlists' rear.

During Cordova's absence Eguia, on the 9th, captured the depôts of Balmaceda and Mercadillo, making many prisoners; and taking 7 guns, 1000 muskets, 60,000 cartridges and stores.*

* On the 16th 120 cases of muskets, each containing 25, also ammunition, went from the Bayonne Arsenal to Spain, escorted by a detachment of the 45th French regiment. This looked like substantial intervention.

On the 10th a sortie from San Sebastian, by 3000 men, was driven back by the Carlists; and the same day Iriarte was obliged to re-enter Bilbao, after attempting a movement towards the interior.

On the 22nd we got the horrible news that on the 16th Cabrera's mother had been shot at Tortosa, by order of Nogueras, Mina consenting. This, we were sure, would lead to awful reprisals.

After Cabrera's loss of the battle of Molina,* he had to divide his force into small bands. The Cristino generals issued sanguinary proclamations against his followers and their families. In January with 1000 infantry and 11 horse, he took, near Tortosa, the baggage and arms of a Cristino column; and on the 5th of February he had a similar success at Torrecilla. On the 6th he shot the alcaldes of Valdealgorfa and Torrecilla as traitors. He also shot two of his captains for desertion, a sergeant for desertion and robbery; another for stealing a plate of honey.

On the 8th General Augustin Nogueras ordered the Governor of Tolosa to shoot Maria Griño, the mother of Cabrera, for that Cabrera had executed two alcaldes "for doing their duty." On the 15th, Mina, as Captain-General of Catalonia, acceded, and it was determined that she should be shot at ten o'clock the following morning, and Cabrera's three sisters arrested.

Cabrera's mother had been imprisoned since the 9th of July the preceding year.

On the morning of the 16th February, sitting in the stocks and in irons, she confessed, but was not allowed to receive the sacrament. She was shot without trial in the

* "Vida Militar de Cabrera," vol. i.

Barbacana at eleven a.m. She was little over fifty-three years of age. The civilized world was moved by this barbarous act. Lord Aberdeen, on the 18th of March, in the House of Lords, called it an assassination. Isturiz, in the Cortes, said: "Who does not see the blood of this victim fall drop by drop upon the heads of ministers?" Mina wished to resign: Nogueras was superseded.

Cabrera had important female prisoners with him, and told them, "You will go with me until my mother is liberated; if she suffer you will; I cannot believe they will harm her, so be tranquil."

The day after the execution it was known to Cabrera's aides. On the 19th he asked them the cause of their gloom. On the 20th, being at Valderrobes, the commandant, Juan Pertigaz, was with him at eight a.m., and, on his asking for news, replied, "Some say your mother has been sent away from Tortosa; some, that they will kill her." "No;" replied Cabrera, "not while I have Fontiveros' wife and the others. . . Come not to me with mysteries. . . What of my mother?" "I shudder; I have to tell you the fatal words—Your mother is no more!" "Pertigaz, I wish to die. No—to live, to revenge her death!" cried Cabrera. His sufferings were dreadful. During the day he indited and had printed the following:—"1. Nogueras and all who serve the Queen are traitors. 2. To be shot if made prisoners. 3. To be shot at once—the Señora Fontiveros, Cinta Tos, Mariana Guardia, and Francisca Urquiza; also others up to thirty in number. 4. For one shot by the Cristinos I will shoot twenty." An hour afterwards the sentences pronounced on those in his power were carried into execution; but Cabrera had already left. The writer of the Biography

of Cabrera in the "Galeria de Españoles Celebres" says, "I would have done more, had they shot my mother."

On the 25th February, the Castle of Plencia, to seaward of Bilbao, capitulated to the Carlists, with 300 men, 13 pieces of cannon, muskets, and stores. At Bayonne people asked, "Where is Cordova, Espartero, and Evans? Are they traitors?" others, "Surely Don Carlos is on his way to Madrid?" The Cristinos said this was a daring affair of Eguia's. Espartero, when he heard of the attack, went to the succour of the garrison, but finding Plencia had fallen, "he limited his operations to observing the enemy."

Baron de Haber returned to Bayonne on the 9th from Durango. His observations to me may be epitomised as follows:—Too late does one learn that Princes are very changeable; they caress in the hour of need, but trample under foot after victory. An old writer observes that Italian and Spanish princes would pass half the day at the foot of the altar, and the other half in debauchery, pride, and delirious anger. Well has it been said, "Put not thy trust in princes."

The principal objects of the Baron's visit to Don Carlos were the following:—1st. To suggest the absolute necessity of his issuing a moderate manifesto, so that friends and enemies might know his intentions. 2nd. To see how he was inclined to the alliance of his son with Isabella. Could this have been carried into effect, the desolating war would at once have been brought to an end. 3rd. To get the sanguinary Durango decree rescinded, which was doing the Carlist cause so much harm. The Baron did not succeed in any point of his mission.

The Baron sent copies of his observations on the doings in the provinces to some foreign courts; these would be too truthful for Don Carlos's *entourage*. Those who had worked well for the cause were in disgrace; the royal smiles were only for flatterers, new-comers, and bold promisers of money; one was in unpardonable disgrace for swearing; and another for wearing an imperial on his chin was called by the Church party a freemason, which meant everything diabolical! Some Carlists made their way to Bayonne after many difficulties, and found orders to remain!

A Baron de Vexela, considered to be an Austrian political agent, arrived on the 14th, and read to De Haber and myself a document said to have met with the approval of many Carlists and Cristinos in Madrid. It contained seventeen articles, the principal ones being, that Don Carlos was to abdicate; his eldest son to become Luis II., and be affianced to Isabella II.; Cristina to leave Spain with a good allowance; Don Carlos to have his confiscated property returned to him, also a good allowance, but to live out of Spain; England to lend 10,000 troops and France 40,000, to keep the country quiet for awhile; the Northern Powers to recognise Luis and Isabella; general amnesty. Could any such-like arrangement have been made, the sanguinary civil war would have ceased, and Spaniards generally might have been satisfied; I knew many influential Carlists, civilians and superior officers, then in the provinces, who would have rejoiced at such an arrangement. We gave it as our opinion that if such a document were presented to Don Carlos, he and his more immediate followers would have called it treason. I believe the document was sent, but I never heard particulars of its reception.

A Mr. Hawkins,* from London, who had brought despatches from the Bishop of Leon, came to Bayonne on the 4th, to the Carlist agent at the Hotel St. Etienne, who sent him, *viâ* St. Jean de Luz, to the Carlist quarters; he returned from Durango to Bayonne on the evening of the 16th, coming to the Hotel St. Etienne. Later in the evening he told me he had been arrested on the French frontier, and his despatches taken from him. The despatches were shortly returned to him, and he proceeded to London.†

On the 28th February the Carlist chief, Torres, surprised the Cristino commander in a defile between Oliana and Peremola in Catalonia, taking about 600 prisoners.

On the 5th March the Carlists took the fortified town of Puycerda in the same province, levying contributions of money and arms.

Ouvrard had managed, through the Bishop of Leon, to get Don Carlos' signature to another loan. He had conciliated (with promises) M. Jauge, Franchessin, and

* He had served in Oporto; he went over with some others to Dom Miguel.

† Out of this arrest of Mr. Hawkins came a series of fatal duels. When Hawkins got to London he accused several persons of being the cause of his arrest. Among the accused was Baron de Haber, an insinuation he publicly and indignantly repelled.

Hawkins, in 1838, attacked and struck Sir Charles Shaw, in England, for some supposed grievance in Oporto, for which he was punished. He then went to Carlsruhe to pick a quarrel with De Haber. Hawkins' friend being Baron Jules de Göler, an officer in the Baden army, this affair dropped through, owing to the absence of Hawkins, but Göler and his adherents were not friends to De Haber, and on the occasion of a public ball given in August, 1843, the Göler party notified that as De Haber had not given satisfaction to Hawkins, he could not be admitted. M. de Verefkin, a friend of De Haber's, met Göler in a duel, when Verefkin was killed, and Göler mortally wounded. In December of the same year Baron de Haber had a duel with M. Sarachaga, when the latter fell.

others who had loan claims on Don Carlos. Baron de Haber had been applied to by Ouvrard, but he would have nothing to do with him. Ouvrard promised to equip a fleet for Don Carlos; arms and ammunition were to find their way to the provinces in any quantity; the armies of Don Carlos in the provinces of Catalonia and Arragon were to be regularly paid, and political arrangements were shortly to be entered into which must place Don Carlos on the throne!

Before the Baron de Haber and myself left London, in a confidential talk with the Bishop of Leon on financial affairs, and the class of people he should have nothing to do with, the Bishop said:—"My dear Baron, I am a good man—a man of honour. I well know all the dangers of such projects; I will never give ear to such manœuvres; and from what you have told me, it would be criminal to have anything to do with those parties; be persuaded that I shall pray to God for the good results of your efforts to serve the cause. I, too, well know (and so does all Spain) that infamous Ouvrard. Go, then, in peace," and, lifting up his hands towards Heaven, he said, "receive my blessing." He then embraced us, and we left. What a farce was this, for here was Ouvrard four months afterwards with a loan contract, which, however, looked like so much waste paper.*

* Ouvrard, Julian, born at Nantes, in 1772, was a grocer at the era of the Revolution. Being an excellent calculator, and of great address, he made a rapid fortune. He was an army contractor under the Republican, Imperial, and restored Bourbon régimes. He was often denounced for his contracts during the Revolution, and escaped the guillotine in 1794 by General Boivin concealing him. He owed many an escape to the influence of his friend Fouché. In 1810 he was sent on a secret mission by Fouché to England, while Napoleon sent another to negotiate peace. The two ambassadors counteracted each other; the British Government

About the 23rd the French Foreign Legion took sixteen Carlists prisoners at Zubiri, and shot them.

We heard on the 26th that despatches of importance from General Alava, then in Paris, to Mendizabal had lately gone through Bayonne. On the 22nd, leaving Pamplona with the mail, escorted by a colonel and a body of lancers, the party was surprised by the Carlist Manolin, and the colonel shot in the encounter; the despatches, the lancers, and the mail fell into the hands of the Carlists.

Letters from Madrid stated that Mr. Honan, correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, already alluded to, having been writing in favour of the Carlists from that city, was ordered out of Spain by Mendizabal, *viâ* Badajos, to Portugal. It was more than suspected that he took instructions from Don Carlos to stimulate his partisans in the capital.*

We heard from Carlist head-quarters that on the 19th Espartero, with from 5000 to 6000 men, attempted to break through their lines to Bilbao, but Eguia drove him back to Vittoria. Of the Cristinos there were 800 killed and

evaded what it considered a trap; they were dismissed, and on their return Fouché was disgraced and Ouvrard imprisoned by Napoleon. He subsequently became bankrupt; but he lived in such luxury in prison that his creditors held him confined there for a long time. Great complaints were made in the Chamber of Deputies in 1824, of the intrigues, extravagances, and deficiencies in his contract for supplying the French army in Spain; but he was protected by the strong arm of authority, as no inquiry into these financial operations was made. Ouvrard, once a millionaire, died almost destitute.

* Honan wrote particulars of his arrest, from Lisbon, to the *Morning Herald*, wherein he abused Mendizabal, and was indignant that he should be sent hence, "for fear the people should kill him, supposing him to be a Carlist!" Honan calls Mendizabal the Jew clerk of Bertrand de Lys of Cadiz in 1823, converted by the sport of fortune into the Prime Minister of Spain in 1836.—"Henan's Court and Camp of Don Carlos."

wounded; of the Carlists, 200. In the Cristino version in an "Extraordinary," dated Madrid the 22nd, this was called a "brilliant action" in their favour; it was moreover stated that their object, which they effected, was to get into Balmaceda (near Bilbao) with 5000 or 6000 men, and that the fight near Orduña they had with the Carlists occurred as their covering column was returning towards Vittoria.

Mr. Burgess, in his journal, says, "It was reported that the Cristinos made a Carlist advance picket prisoners and shot them. La Torre charged a part of the Cristinos, and Eguia coming in their rear, some 2000 were slaughtered.

We also heard of fighting in Catalonia, where 700 were put to the sword by the Carlists.

The following was received from Madrid:—The Queen's Speech to the "Ilustres Proceres y Señores Procuradores," on the 22nd inst. To proceed to deliberate on the Electoral law. Negotiations relative to the acknowledgment of the Independence of the South American Republics. The "friendly disposition" of the Governments connected with the "Quadruple Alliance." Thanks to the army, auxiliaries, and national guard, which last was denominated a conservative institution of liberty and order. Thanks for the vote of confidence in her government. Then came promises of economy, of reform in the mode of dealing out justice, revision of laws to be framed, new roads to be made, &c.

I went to St. Jean de Luz on the 28th to get despatches from Austria forwarded through a Carlist agent to head-quarters, returning the following day, when I heard that the Prefect of Pau had given orders to watch the proceedings of Baron de Haber and his friend. It

came to my knowledge that the St. Etienne Carlist clique tried their best with the police to get me out of Bayonne, but did not succeed. The fact was I was not ultra enough for them.

It was said that Isturiz was favourable to Louis Philippe's wish of getting his two sons married, one to Isabella II., another to her sister. Whether England, however, would willingly enter into this arrangement was much to be doubted.

The prospectus of Ouvrard's loan for Charles V. (but he kept his own name off the document) was issued on the 25th inst., contracted in virtue of a treaty of the 12th January, 1836, and ratified by royal decree of the 6th February. The general bond was at Messrs. Nind and Coterell's, London. It was divided into four series of £213,000 each, 5 per cent. Rentes; the interest to commence from 1st July, 1836, and, after the arrival of his Majesty at Madrid, to be paid half-yearly. These Rentes —issued at 36 per cent. the 1st Series, and 42 the 4th Series—to have priority over all other debts. Application to S. and D. Saportas, Amsterdam; F. J. Outrequin and Jauge, Paris; in London, H. D. L. Ellinkhuysen.

On another page the "Advantages" were most palatably put forth, especially to the holders of active Spanish debt, on defeat of the Queen's armies, and speculating on Carlos V. shortly getting to Madrid. Then followed Ouvrard's calculations of chances and gains—nothing said about losses—winding up with the following:—"It is then found that the loan of H. M. Carlos V. is not only a complete security against every event, but a real profit of 36 per cent."!

For some time past dispassionate people, who looked Carlist affairs straight in the face, had anticipated posi-

tive intervention on the part of England and France; but no credit was given to these views, and the people about Don Carlist and his agents, particularly at Bayonne, called such persons traitors. The Baron de Haber was about the first to positively and officially inform these political unbelievers that England would interfere; and on the 2nd April, in the *Phare de Bayonne*, appeared a letter from Lord John Hay, from on board H.M.S. 'Castor,' off Santander, dated 24th March, 1836, to General Cordova, informing him that the intervention of England was guaranteed to protect the Cristino fortresses on the coast, *and to co-operate, if necessary* (a wide margin). On the 5th it was announced that the French Government would send, if necessary, troops across the frontier, to protect the valleys of Navarre that had risen against Don Carlos.

We thought we saw now the commencement *de la fin* for Don Carlos, but many still trusted in *la Divina Providencia!* It was pretty clear that the Legitimist Powers had not been able to intimidate England and France as to their intervention.

The Carlist agents at the Hotel St. Etienne became very wroth with the Baron and myself on the 4th because we prophesied intervention at no distant date. I was insulted by one of the party, who put his hands on me, when I did my best to thrash him. He challenged me. I chose pistols—there was much vapouring, but no fighting. We left the St. Etienne for the Hotel du Commerce.

The —— Ambassador in Paris wrote to Baron de Haber that he would like to see him as to the state of Don Carlos' affairs. He left on the 11th, whilst I remained to collect and forward news.

From Mr. Burgess's journal, under date April 3, I copy

the following:—"We took last week by surprise, near Pamplona, twenty of the enemy's cavalry; these were instantly shot. In another affair some 400 of the Algerine Legion; these were shot. They had done the same to twenty-seven of our men."

Date of 11th.—In another action in Catalonia 400 Cristinos were killed, and 500 prisoners taken. Many armed Catalonians had marched into Murcia. In Arragon there had been an action with the Algerine Legion; many were killed and made prisoners; some deserted to us. A battalion of Cristinos leaving Barcelona were made prisoners.

## CHAPTER XI.

Carlist capture of Lequetio and Bermeo—Mendizabal and Palmerston—Bishop of Leon arrested in France—Letter I., Carlist doings, Absolutism—Fanaticism and persecution of Mr. Burgess—Villareal and Cordova—Erro, Carlist Minister—Skirmish at Zubiri—Eguia takes prisoners and baggage—Cruz-Mayor sent on his travels—Letter II., Old and Young Spain, enmity to England, prophecies, progressive Carlists—Evans's Legion goes to San Sebastian—Letter III., Evans's sortie, Lord J. Hay's timely assistance, Carlists retire to Hernani, Segastibelsa killed, no quarter—Cristinos talk of religious toleration; Carlist bigotry—Villiers and Rayneval—Letter IV., Ungrateful Ferdinand, Carlist politics, intrigues at head-quarters, Don Carlos should join Cabrera and push on to Madrid—Fueros—Lord Ranelagh returns from Madrid—French soldiers' opinions—Eclipse of the sun—British marines landed, Cristino troops march through French territory—Isturiz upsets Mendizabal—Difficulties at Carlist quarters—French troops favourable to Cristinos—Skirmishing—Isturiz promises great things, but wants more troops—Don Carlos requires extra recruiting—Amusing estimate of Carlist and Cristino successes—Isturiz in minority—Madrid politics; Mendizabal—Isturiz begs for French intervention, Louis Philippe slow to accede—Cordova worried by ultra-Liberals, fails to get to Oñate, bravely opposed by Eguia, Cordova returns to Vittoria—Lord J. Hay, Evans, and Jauregui take Pasages—Funds forthcoming for Cristinos and Carlists—Tardy honours to Zumalacarregui—French army favours the Cristinos at Behobie, and takes Carlist floating battery—Cristino sortie, the French assist—Cordova in Madrid begs for French intervention—Louis Philippe and Spanish marriages.

On the 12th of April the Baron de los Valles came to Bayonne from head-quarters, and was at hide-and-seek, fearing the police; he was on his way north to look after Ouvrard and his promises of millions.

On the 12th April, after a two days' siege, Lequetio, a town on the coast, surrendered to Eguia, with 1000 men,

20 guns, and 100,000 dollars worth of ammunition, provisions, and clothing. He also took Bermeo. A few days afterwards, returning by the Valley of Mena, he surprised Espeleta's advance, driving it into Berron; but Cordova coming up with a very considerable force, Eguia retired.

I received the following from a friend in London:—

Mendizabal: "Will you be good enough to help us a little more against the Carlists? Please catch them for us, whilst we do for them."

Palmerston: "Yes, I will do all I can for you, but can you do anything for me?"

Mendizabal: "Anything you like to ask . . . . the eternal gratitude of the Spanish nation."

Palmerston: "Whew! Isturiz is manœuvring with Louis Philippe, and, as it is not likely the Citizen King will get German princesses for his sons, he has his eye upon Isabella and her sister for them; should these marriages take place you would have more French influence than would be good for Spain."

Mendizabal: "Caramba! No French prince shall be the husband of Isabella; this I swear by the Constitution of 1812; and my eternal enmity to the French for their interference under the Duke of Angoulême in 1823!"

Palmerston: "I believe you, Mendizabal, and I will try and strain a point for *you*."

Here is a portion of Palmerston's speech in the House of Commons about this time:—"The former ministry (the Tory) supported Dom Miguel up to the last moment, and now gave their countenance to Don Carlos, who was the author of the assassination decree of Durango, and believed by all Europe to be intent on establishing the Inquisition as soon as he arrived at Madrid. The

Ministers, on the other hand, might boast of the moral support they had given to the cause of national liberty in Spain; of the part they had taken in the emancipation of the Greeks; of the free constitutions of Belgium and Portugal, which had grown up under their auspices—and if he could contribute, however humbly, to the establishment of the same state of things in Spain as existed in Belgium and Portugal, he should esteem it a source of personal satisfaction to the latest hour of his life."

Erro had been at Pau for some time, preparing to cross the frontier to Don Carlos, and was to be his minister. The Bishop of Leon, under the name of Jean Maria Moret, and his guide, M. Comynet, a French stock-broker, were arrested near Bordeaux; they had come *viâ* Brussels. The Bishop of Palencia, on his way to Don Carlos with a considerable sum of money, was caught by the Cristinos; the money was taken, he was imprisoned, and his property was to be confiscated.

I now commenced a series of letters to Baron de Haber; from the copies of some I make extracts. They will show in a familiar manner the state of affairs in Spain as I (a Conservative-Liberal) viewed them, and having no strong bias in favour of either party.

### Letter I.

"Bayonne, April 22nd, 1836.

"I have just heard, from the lips of a young Biscayan, a recapitulation of those truths you made us acquainted with on your return from the Carlist head-quarters. He said: 'My poor country! My mother will not believe me, for she is in the hands of the priests and monks.

What have we not suffered for our King? We love our religion, but what can we say of its ministers? The Cura Batanero, with his fanatical followers, is permitted to carry out his mad ideas, and make murderous incursions often in defenceless parts of Spain. What has been the result of his late expedition? Why, his band has been cut to pieces. Do the exploits of the Cura Merino shed any lustre on Spanish arms or religion? How strange that military expeditions should be trusted to such men, when so many brave officers are unemployed, as Maroto, Bellengero, Cabañas, and others. Maroto is not employed because Don Carlos' present confessor, Echevaria, has told the King he is gay; and he continues to poison the King's ear. There is a camarilla of priests, ignorant and fanatical. These priests dreaded the honesty and eagle eye of Zumalacarregui. Our armies increase; they do but little; half the number, had they been properly officered by those unemployed, and not by the creatures of the priests—why, the Cristinos would have been beaten ere this, and the King would have been on his throne. What do these priests know of even ordinary politics or government? Nothing. Base intrigue and cunning is their forte, and they still wish to keep us in ignorance. No, we cannot, must not permit it. Ferdinand VII. could have made Spain happy, had he marched a little more with the times; he left us a sanguinary civil war for which we execrate his memory. We, the people of the provinces, have sacrificed ourselves for the King, our rights and privileges. The soldiers begin to murmur and cry out for good officers; they will no longer be led by priests and monks, and, should this system continue, they will lay down their arms. *La Divina Providencia*, which has so long watched over us, we pray will do so still. If Don Carlos

is to succeed, he must be just. We will die for him, for our religion; we will take care of our priests—they have to pray for our souls. We will take care of our bodies. Echevarria has his tools in the Ministry; Cruz-Mayor is said to be ambitious; he stands a chance of being assassinated. The Bishop of Leon was sent for; he got arrested by the French; he might have upset the present priestly camarilla, but another like it would have been formed by him. The 'Oñate Gazette' publishes bulletins, but its political inspirations are laughed at; they are of the times of Philip II. How is it the Northern Powers do not come out boldly and assist us, as France and England are doing for the Cristinos? They have given us some money; but we want other help.' I replied: 'They know but little of Spain but what they read in the newspapers, and then they see only details of revengeful bloodshed; how can they really sympathise even with the Carlists? Has Don Carlos given any guarantee that he intends to have a rational form of government?' 'No,' he said, 'I now see Don Carlos' line of politics, to keep us still in ignorance, so as to serve the ends of a few wretched men —but this must not be.' He told me he had just seen a friend from head-quarters, and that the army was in a strange state of commotion."

I have already stated that the deserters from the British Legion were formed into a separate corps, ultimately under the command of Colonel Ceballos, who had an altercation with Mr. Burgess, the surgeon, struck him* with his sword, and ordered him under arrest the beginning of May. In the said corps was a Mr.

* Burgess's Journal.

Wilkinson; Ceballos broke open a letter addressed to him, when the latter said he would shoot him. St. Patrick's Day arrived; there was too much drink, and a Mr. Dwyer threatened to kill Ceballos, who prepared to shoot Dwyer, Wilkinson, Burgess, and others, and they believed they were to suffer. They were marched to Lascano, the depôt of the "Rebels to the King." On the 25th March, Burgess being at Teryn, near Segama, two lawyers and a colonel came with the following charges against Burgess:—That he had persuaded a Protestant not to receive extreme unction or confess; that he had gone to the altar with his cloak on, and wanted to take the sacrament without confessing; that he had told the nuns and girls in a village that in England they baptised with pork and brandy; that he had called Ceballos hard names, for which he struck him, and other ridiculous charges. Burgess was some months under arrest, and could not obtain even a court of inquiry. The Vicario del Rey subsequently sent to know if Burgess had attempted to take the sacrament; as to baptism with pork and brandy in England; and his belief in images of saints; in that the wafer and wine were the real body and blood; in the purity of the virgin; if he confessed to God, &c.

The Cristinos hoped by this time to have had some 10,000 more French volunteers; however, Louis Philippe had not signed the order for raising them.

About the 20th April, according to Mr. Burgess, Cordova requested a parley with Villareal, inquiring whether, as the British Legion had been recalled (?), it might not pass through the Carlist country to San Sebastian, and embark. Villareal asked how they had got where they were. "By Bilbao and Miranda to Vittoria," was the reply. "Then," said the Carlist general, "let

them return by the same route, for they ought to know it well." This dodge of Cordova's was too transparent.

Don Carlos made Erro his "Ministro Universal" on the 22nd. Cruz-Mayor, on retiring from office, had the order of Carlos Tercero given to him.

A council of war had been formed at Oñate, composed mainly of Erro, Villamur, Aznarez, senr., Manzano, Sierra; then a grand council of affairs of the kingdom—Aznarez, senr, its president; also a provisional war junta. Erro would be ruled by Don Carlos, and he by the Church party.

On the 26th there was some fighting near Zubiri between Bernelle, commanding the French auxiliaries, and the Carlist Garcia. Bernelle lost 14 killed, and 70 wounded; he said his men were too enthusiastic!

On the 28th Eguia, with eight battalions and one squadron of cavalry, succeeded in driving twelve battalions of Cristinos, with four squadrons of cavalry and artillery, from Sodupe, near Balmaceda, making some prisoners, and taking baggage.

On the 4th May Señor Cruz-Mayor, late minister to Don Carlos, arrived in Bayonne. The newspaper of the place announced his arrival thus:—"Malade et fatigué, il a reçu de son maitre la permission de voyager à l'étranger." I paid him a visit, and he seemed to me to be very glad he was out of the provinces, and had no satisfactory information to communicate. He was going to Turin, where the Princess of Beira was then staying.

## Letter II.

"Bayonne, May 4th, 1836.

"We have specimens here of Old and Young Spain. A

cousin of the Carlist minister, Modet, whom I met at a tertulia, observed with bitterness: 'The English Tories should long since have assisted Don Carlos, and could have placed him on the throne. Shame upon Wellington, Aberdeen, and Peel! Shame on the Northern Powers! Anarchy and revolution will destroy them in ten years' time.* The mob will rule in England, and the Tories will become extinct. Proud England, once the terror of the world, will sink into insignificance. A miracle is now performing, Roman Catholicism is rapidly increasing in Great Britain; heretical Protestantism is being vanquished. Our holy Mother Church will again flourish; the cathedrals, convents, and monasteries we built in the at-present Protestant lands will resound with the celestial music of our mass. The Santa . . .' and here he stopped and ground his teeth. If he had finished the sentence by pronouncing that devilish word, 'Inquisition,' I would have shouted such a Spanish oath, and left the tertulia. He continued, 'Has not England been ruining Spain for centuries? Are not all the precious metals from our American colonies in the Banco de Londres?' He did not allude to the loans Spain had contracted in England, France, and Holland—loans for which Spain is indifferent how she is even to pay the interest. He continued, 'The rich Jews will become Catholics, and their money will pave their way to Heaven.' Thus Old Spain preaches daily, and with the ignorant this doctrine has great weight. To counterbalance this, Young Spain—and

* The coincidence is curious. Louis Philippe escaped to England February, 1848; March 20th the King of Bavaria was forced to abdicate, principally through the vagaries of his mistress, Lola Montes; the Emperor of Austria abdicated December 2nd; and there were other Continental dynastic disturbances.

there are many composing it, first among the Carlists, and, secondly, many who would join them if Carlism offered any guarantee of a fair form of government; but if the incarnation of Romanism and absolutism continues governing the cabinet of Don Carlos, and there is a probability that the Inquisition may be re-established, reasonable royalists will leave the standard of Carlos V. and take up with the strongest party.

"Many here of those who have assisted the Carlists have filled their pockets from commissions, charges, &c. They do the political hypocrite so well; they get titles and decorations; while one of them writes fulsome adulation about Don Carlos in the *Mode;* and ere long the same party will call Don Carlos a saint!"

There are many Spaniards of the Young Spain party attached to Don Carlos, but who disapprove of churchmen having anything to do with the government; let them reform the Church, they say, before the laymen take that matter in hand. Each cura thinks he is on the way to have the power of a Richelieu or a Wolsey; then to re-establish the Inquisition and the cruel auto-da-fés.

Finding it difficult to render much service in the interior, the remains of the British Legion returned to the coast, embarking from Santander for San Sebastian, arriving on the 21st of April, with other troops. For some time the Carlists had established strong lines close to that place, from which Evans now determined to dislodge them.

### Letter III.

"Bayonne, May 6th, 1836.

"At last Evans has sallied from San Sebastian. I have

just learnt that on the 4th the Carlists, being aware of the projected sortie, and that they could not preserve the positions of Antigua and San Francisco, abandoned these houses, setting fire to them. On the 5th, at 4 a.m., Evans commenced the sortie, with 6000 to 7000 men of the Legion, chapelgorris, and other troops. The Carlists had about 3000 for defence. Evans had not much difficulty in possessing himself of the Carlist advanced lines, but, arriving at the second, he was twice repulsed.

"Luguriz, the key of the Carlist positions, was the principal point of attack; both parties had to call up their reserves. The rain continued in torrents, and at 8 a.m. caused a cessation of very hard fighting, when, all of a sudden, Lord John Hay came into the port with two British man-of-war steamers, the 'Phœnix' and 'Salamander,' bringing a reinforcement of 800 of the Legion. Lord John, with his guns, opened on Luguriz and set fire to it; which was a bad reverse for the Carlists. Two hours afterwards the second lines were taken, the Carlists retiring towards Hernani. No quarter was given on either side. The Carlists lost their commander, Segastibelza. Had not Lord John Hay come to the timely assistance of the Anglo-Cristinos, they would not have taken the second lines of the Carlists, and would have lost many more men."

Shaw* gives a spirited account of this attack. He observes that they had a terrible morning's work; that the Carlist lines were dreadful to force, and that the enemy behaved well. "I expressed a hope," he says, "that the prisoners would be well treated. It was frightful to see the cruel manner in which the enemy

* Memoirs, vol. ii.

drove their bayonets into the wounded. For a moment I thought the day was lost;" but the 'Phœnix' and the 'Salamander' came in time to help them with fresh troops and their own fire. Evans lost 12 officers killed, and 160 men; 70 officers wounded and 600 men. The enemy, besides 4 guns and some flags, lost about the same number.

Shaw says: "Their lines were well finished and beautifully defended. I always said Evans would break out. MacDougal was of great service to him." Shaw lost many of the officers and men who had been with him in Portugal. He remarks, "I went aside that night and had a hearty weep by myself, and then all was right."

A few days afterwards Major Richardson, of the Legion, passed through Bayonne on sick leave for England; he had been ill with typhus at Vittoria, and wounded on the 5th. He told me the attack was known as that of Ayete, but might well be called the "Battle of the Officers," so many had been killed and wounded; also that Eguia was at Hernani with 10 battalions and 10 guns, hoping Evans would go out to meet him.

The "Oñate Gazette" gave but a brief account of the Carlist reverse; said that Evans was a proud adventurer; that he had attacked with 8000 men; that 2000 of the heretics had been killed and 1200 wounded; and that they only lost 257 out of 2000 men.

The Cristinos stated: The loss of the Carlist lines at San Sebastian produced renewed murmurs in Don Carlos' court against Eguia, without recollecting his fortunate proceedings, and without adverting to the fact that there is no conqueror without a faded leaf in his laurel crown. Villareal succeeded him.

From Mr. Burgess's journal:—"The Cristinos and

English sallied from San Sebastian at 4.30 a.m.; had they taken us by surprise, which they hoped to do, our people would have been cut to pieces. This was prevented by a Cristino captain deserting to us half an hour before they marched. Their loss was computed at 2000 killed and wounded; 52 officers were counted dead on the field. The Carlists lost their commander, Segastibelza, and 300 in killed and wounded."

So close were the sentinels of either party that they conversed. The Carlists reproached their opponents for fighting for a girl whose mother (and her frailties were spoken of) had better be off. The Cristinos reproached the Carlists for contending for a Rey de Zarzas, or bramble King, alluding to his mountain escapes.

The Cristino Government was talking about religious toleration; when out came the following on the 8th, in the "Oñate Gazette": "In Spain no other religion or belief is known than the Catholic; we can only look upon religious toleration as something scandalous, and the toleration of any other religion would be an impiety and most wicked." This was considered most impolitic by the real friends of Don Carlos, it did his cause harm, and his political opponents had now no difficulty in representing him as the chief of an intolerant Church party, should they regain power. I had already learnt from London, Paris, and Germany, that many of Don Carlos' staunch supporters began to express doubts as to his success.

Sir George Villiers, the young British Minister to Madrid, was generally spoken of as a keen diplomatist, and as knowing his game well; the French Minister, Rayneval, had his shifty master to please; but one thing was certain, that Lord Palmerston was not to be played with

by Louis Philippe, or by the Continental Governments.

## Letter IV.

"Bayonne, May 12th, 1836.

"The cry here of Carlists and Cristinos is—'Ungrateful, false Ferdinand VII.,* you left us a murderous civil war for long years of fidelity; and when you returned from French captivity to the throne of S. Ferdinand, great was our joy. The Peninsula war had prepared us for a more rational order of things in church and state. To you was given the wand of the magician; you broke it, and threw it ruthlessly away. On your return to Madrid you only sought, as ministers, creatures who would bend to your absolute will. See the results. We have lost our rich colonies, and with a bad grace. No sooner did a Spaniard object to blindly follow priestly dictation, than he was declared an unbeliever and a traitor; there was continuous oppression. Is it to be wondered at, that, to repel such a state of things, the patriotic dreams connected with the Constitution of 1812 should have been from time to time resuscitated? Then followed the Duke D'Angoulême's oppressive military promenade through Spain in 1823, to awe the people; then general persecutions throughout the land. But the more patriotic—say revolutionists if you please—had the tact to touch the

* The following was placed, by an unknown hand, on his tomb:—

"Here lies a man, who thought to find believers,
When those whom he deceived he called deceivers;
Two parties saved him, and he nursed their growth,
Gave arms to each, and bickering left them both."

—Walton, vol. ii. p. 513.

dying vanity of the heartless Ferdinand, who illegally declared his daughter his successor; Don Carlos was banished, Ferdinand died, we have a civil war, the majority in Spain seem to rally round the flag of Isabella II., and the Liberals will fight to the last; their war cry is Liberalism *v.* Absolutism.'

"Don Carlos gets to the provinces; Zumalacarregui presents him with a brave and faithful army. Two years have elapsed; the Cristinos do not make much of their military doings, although they have England, France, and Portugal assisting—thanks to the quadruple alliance. Navarre and the Basque provinces have done wonders during the war. The French papers say it is not for Spain, nor Don Carlos, that the Basques are fighting, but for their Fueros. "Fueros in danger!" is their war cry. It is well known that Don Carlos did not admire being obliged to swear to protect the Fueros under the Tree at Guernica. The Church is believed by a large majority to be the real enemy of the people; it is not Christianity.

"I hear that the Cura Echevaria is in disgrace; also that the removal of Cruz-Mayor was brought about through the intrigues of the Juntas, particularly that of Navarre. Erro, as "Ministro Universal," succeeds Cruz-Mayor, and has organised his government, *i.e.*, so many secretaries. To please the Junta of Navarre, fine things are now said, and are to be done, in honour of Zumalacarregui. Some people in the provinces are beginning to be tired of the war, and are not quite certain of Don Carlos's success; they foresee that, should the war continue two more seasons in the present manner, they will be entirely ruined; they say that Don Carlos should now join Cabrera, who is strong in Arragon and Valencia, and, if he has sufficient cavalry, make a push for Madrid, and see if he has proper

support in the capital; should he fail in his enterprise, he would have to relinquish his cause; and I have heard Basques say they would solicit even a French army of occupation to protect the provinces from Carlists as well as Cristinos; and to maintain their Fueros, they would salute the hangman of Malaga as Rey de España, and Señor de Biscay."

On the 13th I saw Lord Ranelagh; he had just come from Madrid; he had been robbed on the road. When I told him that Cruz-Mayor was in disgrace he looked astonished. The following day he went to San Sebastian to ascertain what was going on there.

Señor Merry, who had been to see the Princess of Beira, now at Laybach, being the bearer of letters from her and despatches from various parts, was arrested at Dax, near Bayonne; his papers he had sent by another hand from Bordeaux.

I noticed a group of French soldiers before a print-seller's shop; in the window hung four lithographs, of General Allard (in Runjeet Sing's service), Zumala-carregui, Don Carlos, and Los Valles. Of the first they said, "Voilà un brave;" of the second, "Oh! oh! il est mort, ce diable chef de guerillas;" of the third, "C'est le moine, Don Carlos."

On the 15th, Sunday, at 3.30 p.m., an eclipse of the sun commenced—blackened pieces of glass and pails of water in request.

On the 16th it was reported that a large party of British marines had been landed at Bilbao, and that others were going to San Sebastian. Some Cristino troops had entered French territory at St. Jean Pied de Port, and would march to St. Jean de Luz, and embark at Socoa for San Sebastian. This looked like intervention.

On the 19th an extraordinary courier brought news of the fall of Mendizabal on the 12th; Queen Cristina would not dismiss Espeleta from his post of inspector of cavalry, San Roman from that of militia, nor Quesada from that of Captain-General of Madrid. On the 15th she named Isturiz minister (Mendizabal had a bloodless duel with him a few days afterwards). Toreno and Rayneval, the French Minister, had the credit of this upset (they were of the Queen's camarilla); thus French influence for a time would be in the ascendant; but Mendizabal held on to Villiers, and there were 700 English government troops at San Sebastian, 800 at Bilbao, and others were going to Santander.

However, if Cristina had her difficulties in Madrid, Don Carlos had his at head-quarters. All I could then collect was that there had been a commotion, and that the cry of "Death to the traitors!" was shouted, at which Don Carlos appeared at the balcony of the house in great agitation.

On the 20th I went to St. Jean de Luz, and found that 1200 Cristino troops had just arrived, having marched along the French frontier; here they were met by Jauregui; 800 of them were embarked for San Sebastian; the remaining 400 would be got there how they could. I then went across the country to the bridge of Behobie, on the Bibassoa, one half belonging to France, the other to Spain. Here I found the Cristino picket dozing; the Carlists could have taken them at any time, had the French allowed them, but this would have interfered with the commerce of Bayonne. The Cristinos could get any supplies, even of arms, by this route, but the Carlists had to smuggle what they required over the frontier.

The town of Irun is seen from Behobie. The farms and

houses between these places were in ruins; while here and there, in the mountainous parts, Carlist pickets peered up from behind a wall or rock. It was very often remarked, why did not the Carlists take possession of the bridge and its vicinity, and cut off the Cristino communication with France? The answer was, France would not let them.

On the 16th there was fighting between the Carlists and Bernette and Iriarte, near Valcarlos, called the affair of Garralda. On the 14th Sarrasa had some skirmishing with the Queen's troops two leagues from Pamplona. On the 15th a party came out of Bilbao, but, having lost 60 or 70 men, returned.

General Evans had now some 15,000 men under his command, and was thought to be about marching on Hernani and Tolosa.

So important was this threatened Cristino movement considered, that the Spanish Consulate at Bayonne, on the 23rd, published Queen Cristina's "Manifesto" to the subjects of her august daughter; also Isturiz's "Exposicion;" in these fine and liberal things were promised, but it was announced that more troops must be raised. There was much commotion in Madrid against the new Minister, and breaking of windows, but no heads. At the same time Don Carlos issued the following: "Persuaded of the necessity of adopting more energetic measures in hastening the conclusion of the present struggle, and to deliver these heroic provinces from the destruction with which they are threatened by the enemies of our holy religion and of my rights—I order a general arming of the kingdom of Navarre, and of the provinces of Alava, Biscay, and Guipuzcoa, of royalist volunteers, for the defence of their hearths, without prejudice to the decrees

in force for the recruiting of the army. Royal head-quarters, Villafranca, 18th May, 1836. I, the King."

The *Jorobado*, or "Hunchback," a Madrid paper, gave the following amusing estimate of Carlist and Cristino successes, from October, 1833, to April, 1836:—280,535 Carlists perished on the field of battle, 54,493 made prisoners, 86,000 muskets taken from them, 546 combats, 303 complete victories, 243 partial victories, 500 minor affairs. Of Cristinos killed, 157,874; made prisoners, 39,618; deserters, 41,722; 87 pieces of artillery lost.

In August, 1836, General Bellengero told me, in Bayonne, that about 70,000 Carlists, military and civil, had perished in the war, including from 22,000 to 25,000 in the provinces. Mr. Honan, a Carlist writer, states: "There was not much to choose between either party as to the veracity of their despatches. On one occasion 45 bodies were counted after a great battle, when 3000 were put in the Cristino "Gazette" as *hors de combat*. In a Carlist bulletin, after Cordova's retreat to Vitoria, it was declared 9000 had been destroyed out of 12,000, when not more than 60 bit the dust."

The national guard at Zaragoza had expressed its displeasure at the removal of Mendizabal, and requested the Queen to recall him, or she was not to count upon their services. There had been a majority of 78 to 29 in the Chamber of Procuradores against the Isturiz Ministry. Isturiz caused the Queen to dissolve the Cortes on the 23rd. Such a state of things in Madrid was most favourable for the Carlists; but, as far as I could learn, little or no advantage was taken of it.

Some Cristino writers observe that Mendizabal was in advance of his time; many were jealous of his patriotism, and in the debates Isturiz and Galiano in particular (who,

from being Exaltados had become Moderados) were false to Mendizabal. The Court camarilla, supported by a portion of the Church party, were dead against him, and even reported he had given the Church jewels to his mistresses, that he was a Jew, &c. Isturiz was most hostile to all Mendizabal's great measures, which made him unpopular. Mendizabal said, in 1835, "I have three great enemies to overcome in order to govern, and make my country happy. I do not belong to the aristocracy of blood, neither to that of letters, nor to that of arms; I shall always have to oppose greater obstacles than any other, because I am of the people, and will not abandon them. It will never be looked upon favourably that the nation owes to me a good government."

Isturiz now begged for the armed intervention of France, but Thiers, who was then Minister, although he sympathised with Isabella II., had to work for his royal master, and see whether they could not obtain German ...sses as wives for the sons of Louis Philippe, and ...ould not wish to offend Russia, Austria, Prussia, ...ia, and Naples, who favoured Don Carlos. Thiers, ...er, proposed a considerable augmentation of the ...ich auxiliary legion, but Louis Philippe was slow to sanction this proceeding.

Cordova was worried by the Ultra-Liberals; they had posted placards against him when he sent some to prison. The national guard, and even troops of the line, disapproved of his conduct. On the 22nd May he divided his army into two divisions; he attempted to get into Oñate, but in the defiles he was met by the Carlists and repulsed. On the 23rd he made another fruitless attempt, and had to retreat upon Murietta. I copy the following from a rather in-

teresting private letter: "We left the belligerents on the night of the 23rd May, Cordova at Murietta, and Eguia at Mondragon; on the morning of the 24th Cordova had 58 battalions (20,000 men), 14 squadrons of cavalry, and abundance of artillery; he marched upon Salinas, which the Carlists evacuated, preparing themselves to fall upon him in his onward march through a defile. When he had entered, the Carlists pounced on him from all sides, driving him out in confusion and with great loss, which would have been increased had it not been for his artillery. He tried to re-enter Salinas, but failed, and had to retreat to the villages between Salinas and Vitoria. Seeing he could not enter the Basque provinces by the high roads of Navarre or Guipuzcoa, on the night of the 25th he got to Villareal de Alava, in the direction of Biscay, where his enemy had but a few troops. The Carlists say that his loss in killed, wounded, and prisoners amounted to 3000 men, whilst theirs was only 6 officers and 58 soldiers killed, 48 officers and 1414 men wounded. This was looked upon as a glorious defence by the Carlists, and well fought on both sides. Of the Cristinos, a son of General Oraá was killed; of the Carlists, Simon de la Torre, in a desperate charge, was badly wounded, and Ituralde slightly in the shoulder, while Villareal had a horse shot under him."

Cordova, leaving his dispirited and beaten divisions at Villareal, went in haste to Vitoria in search of fresh troops. The victorious Eguia was at Escorriaza, four miles south of Salinas, and Don Carlos, on the night of the 26th, at Villafranca.

Cordova and Oraá again attempted to force the passage to Oñate, and a second time obtained possession of the heights of Arlaban, where a severe contest ensued. Not

being able to dislodge the Carlists from the pass of Salinas, they returned to Vitoria, after burning Villareal and Urbina; their line of retreat presented a frightful scene of desolation, and they are accused of having committed scandalous excesses. Cordova acknowledged the loss of 600 men; and soon after this failure he went to Madrid.

The Cristinos say they commenced the campaign of 1836 by routing the Carlists from their lines of San Sebastian, but do not allude to the great assistance rendered by Lord John Hay; that Cordova began his first operations against the Cordilleras of Arlaban. From the 21st to the 25th May many were the attacks sustained with bravery by both sides. Cordova flanked the Carlist works, which gave to his expedition much moral force (?). All these circumstances increased the merit of so daring an enterprise!

According to Mr. Burgess, there was fighting for four days, when the Cristinos were forced into their old quarters of Vitoria. Villareal received two balls, one on his spur; his horse three, and fell; Torres, a ball in his leg; Ituralde, a spent ball in his back. After this success two battalions and two squadrons of cavalry were sent to assist the Carlists in Catalonia.

At Bayonne, on the 28th, we heard firing in the direction of the port of Pasages. The following day we got information that Lord John Hay, Evans, and Jauregui had taken that port, finding there four old guns and an armed schooner. The Carlists were very much excited by this active interference on the part of England.

Shaw says the tide served at half-past seven on the 28th, when the Carlist artillery opened fire. They had only 300 men, and it was extraordinary with what

obstinacy they stuck to their post, in spite of a very heavy fire of round shot, grape, and shell against them. But in half an hour they started, and a few moments afterwards the Cristino columns moved through the different fords. On the 31st May and 2nd June, before daylight, they tried to surprise Shaw, but they got the worst of it.

Money to some extent was finding its way from Bayonne to the Cristinos, sent by Ardoin and Co., of Paris.

The Carlist agent in Bayonne had just been empowered to draw on London for £40,000, a portion of funds the providing of which was facilitated in all probability by Austria and Russia.

By a decree, dated May 24th, Zumalacarregui was made a conde, Duke of Victoria, and a grandee of the first class; his widow being decorated with the order of Maria Luisa. He left three daughters; the eldest was created a duchess; the first male child of these to have the titles of Zumalacarregui. He died the 25th June, 1835. Why so long in acknowledging his great services?

The Carlists had constructed a floating battery, from which they hoped to attack the Cristino picket at the bridge of Behobie. The French general, Nogues, sent information of this to General Harispe, who forwarded orders to destroy the floating battery immediately. On the 1st June M. Poultier, the sub-Prefect of Bayonne, asked me, as I spoke Spanish, to accompany him to Behobie, an attack by the Cristinos on the Carlist lines being momentarily expected. We arrived at eleven a.m., and found that General Nogues had disabled and taken the Carlist floating battery the previous night, and had it hauled up on the French side of the river, with a boat containing 250 round shot. The battery was composed of two boats, with a platform, having a long twelve-

pounder, and could have carried 200 men. It had been constructed by a French Carlist officer named Lizoire. Considering that the French were posted here to oppose all military doings of the Carlists, I did not think this floating battery affair was judicious on the part of the Carlists, or their advisers, the French Legitimists.

I went with M. Poultier to the Cristino picket-house, in command of an officer named Iturriza, whose brother was in the Carlist ranks. It was reported that Evans was before Irun, and Lord John Hay had sent British marines to garrison the "maison forte," and guard its vicinity.

At three p.m., Iturriza made a sortie, the object being to fill up the Carlist trenches, the working party being well covered, whilst at the head of the bridge on the French side was a piece of artillery ready to fire on the Carlists, should any of their shot come on French ground. The Cristino working party were so placed that they could not be shot at without some of the Carlist balls coming on French territory. I was on the bridge of Behobie with M. Poultier during the scrimmage; shots went whizzing over our heads, and some fell near us. After an hour of this sort of work, a reinforcement came to assist Iturriza, and he returned to his caserne. A Carlist or Cristino shot having struck a French soldier, General Nogues fired four rounds of grape at the Carlists, and thus ended the affair. This would be probably construed into "una victoria!" by both parties; but the Carlists lost their floating battery, their old trenches were partially filled up, and they now had a practical demonstration of French intervention. The next day information from Madrid said that Cordova was there, praying for armed French intervention. Espartero had taken command in his absence.

It was supposed by many who prepared the way for Louis Philippe to upset Charles X., that his rule would be that of a Republican President. England was friendly to France, Belgium also, for the Citizen King had assisted it against the Dutch. As time went on, Louis Philippe was anxious to be if only on fair political terms with the Continental Powers; and to show that he was not a revolutionist, he began to tighten the political strings, which the majority of the French disliked; this led to commotions and conspiracies, assisted by Legitimists, Bonapartists, and others. He had a very difficult game to play, and did not hold the best of cards. One of his great moves was to obtain wives for his sons from the German States. He had got his eldest daughter married to the King of the Belgians, and, as a sort of nervous make-weight, Louis Philippe sought to show that he would not eagerly oppose Legitimist views in Spanish affairs if his dynasty could be strengthened by Continental alliances. However, no wives seemed likely to be obtained in Germany for his sons. He would now turn towards Spain, and the price he would ask for his active intervention was Isabella II. and her sister for two of his sons. Although there were many "afrancesado" Spaniards who would have conceded much to him, there were very few willing to give up Isabella II. to a French prince; still the King of the French appeared to have made up his mind that his sons were to have the Queen of Spain and her sister, somehow or other; but Palmerston in particular was looking with a jealous eye on the French matrimonial game.

## CHAPTER XII.

"Fueros in danger"—Cruelties to English prisoners—Maroto goes to Catalonia; dark doings in the provinces—Cordova starts for Madrid, returns with funds for the army—Carlist rewards offered to British deserters—Prussian agent goes to Don Carlos—Attempt to poison Don Carlos—Royal servants have to shoulder musket—The Basques wish Don Carlos to join Cabrera and dash at Madrid—Villareal succeeds Eguia—Another Prussian agent sent—Marching of both armies—Evans ill; miserable state of the Legion—Discontent in Carlist army—Portuguese contingent—Carlist and Cristino forces—Carlists shoot mutinous deserters from the Legion—Cabrera's attack on Gandesa, no quarter; his battle at Chiva; fortifies Cantavieja—Great Cristino loss at Daroca—Cabrera gains the battle of Ulldecona—Gomez's expedition to the South—Carlists take Peñacerrada—Ouvrard fails to raise a loan—Alleged shooting of Carlist conspirators—Evans fails before Fuenterrabia—Isturiz for French intervention—Spain to be divided between Isabella and Don Carlos—Bishop of Leon arrives at headquarters—Letter IV., the Bishop to succeed Erro—Cristina perplexed—Lopez and others shot in Galicia by Cristinos—Letter V., Absoluto decree by Don Carlos, a trap—Carlist official news—Villareal's success—Gomez's expedition drives some Cristinos crazy in Galicia—Thiers for intervention—Letter VI., Political position of contending parties.

June.—The new electoral law was not approved of by the Cristino Basques; they declared they would not be stripped of their "beloved Fueros," and if persisted in, they would become Carlists, or even devils incarnate. "Fueros in danger," would ever be their war cry.

On the 6th, the Carlists attacked Evans, and reported eighty English killed and 150 wounded. Shaw writes: "On that day the Carlists made seven English prisoners; they were taken to Hernani and shot. Deserters said that one volley was fired through the knees, another

through the stomach, their heads being tied to a wall, all naked. I believe it, and feel inclined to tell my men not to spare them."

Mr. Burgess observes: "Two or three companies of the English were surprised on picket. Many were bayonetted; eight were shot at Hernani."

Mr. Moore, the correspondent of the "Morning Chronicle," wrote that the Carlists took six English and one Irish prisoners; they were stripped and partially crucified, balls fired at their feet, knees, and bodies, then left to die. There was much horror expressed at this cruelty. The Carlists replied that the prisoners had been shot in the ordinary manner, which was not believed.

General Rafael Maroto came from the Carlist head-quarters to Bayonne, on his way to Catalonia, when it was supposed it was about to become another Navarre. The Carlist bands under El Llarch de Copons, Degollat, Pichot, Tristany, and others, were most active and daring.

I had long interviews with General Maroto, to whom I was already known. He told me that affairs were in an unsatisfactory state in the provinces, and that he was glad to get away from the "Corte;" that military matters were not allowed to be in proper hands, and that there were doings of a dark dye; that Don Carlos was "ungrateful and unmindful of former services." Maroto looked sad. He was most anxious about his children, who were at Malaga, and asked me, if required, would I go there, take them away, and place them in safety, which I promised to do. We talked much about Chile (where I had been); he had married a lady of that country, and had held high command in the Spanish army there, but left on Chile declaring its independence. He informed me that General Bellengero in particular had been long under painful

arrest, through the vile intrigues of the "Corte" party. On the 9th Maroto left for Catalonia. At the last moment he told me how much he should have liked to have seen Baron de Haber, and, giving me his address in Marseilles, begged me to let him know when the baron might be in Paris, for if possible he would go there, as he had matter of much moment to communicate to him.

Maroto told me, when the Cura Juan Echeveria was President of the Junta of Navarre, Zumalacarregui applied for rations, which were tardy in being sent. He went in anger to the Cura, and said, "What is this, Don Juan? I must have the rations at once—do you hear?" showing him six bullets he had in his waistcoat pocket, intimating that there was a bullet for each of the six members of the Junta.

It was rumoured that the Pope had sent to Don Carlos a "Benedictionist," to bless him officially, say once a week!

Louis Philippe appeared to be more favourable to the Cristinos; he allowed their troops to come into French territory and embark for San Sebastian.

Cordova, after his last defeat, went to Madrid, or was sent for to take part in fresh councils about prosecuting the war. He was made a grandee, and agreed that the armed intervention of France was necessary, if it were only to keep down revolution. He shortly returned to the army with funds.

On the 10th, Eguia issued a proclamation to the British Legion, calling on them to desert to Don Carlos. They were to be rewarded as follows: To every man with horse and arms, ten pounds; without arms, one pound. Anyone bringing thirty to forty men, to have a commission; with forty to sixty men, a lieutenant's commission;

sixty to eighty men, a captaincy; 300 men, a lieutenant-colonelcy. Shaw observes, a few had gone over, but only to escape punishment for stealiug, or when in a fit of drunkenness, and he was astonished how they remained so steady with no pay and such harassing duty.

Mr. Mitchell, the Bayonne correspondent of the "Morning Herald," went over the frontier to see for himself how things looked, not being quite satisfied with the information sent to him. He was a clear and rapid writer, and took great pains to obtain news; his bias, however, was in favour of Carlism.

On the 12th, a Prussian Government agent went through Bayonne to Don Carlos, with despatches; also to ascertain the state of affairs there. On this same date, according to Mr. Burgess, a Cristino colonel came over, his object being to poison Don Carlos. He was betrayed, and confessed his crime.

The great number of royal servants about Don Carlos had been permitted, or rather obliged, to form a corps of "Voluntarios distinguidos," and carry muskets.

Many of the Basques now said: "For three years we have supported this war. We are nearly ruined; another year of it, and we shall be entirely so. There is not a family but has lost a father or brother. The Northern Powers care but little for our King; shall we not beg of him to join Cabrera, who is well supported in Arragon, dash into Madrid, and settle the war one way or the other, leaving Eguia, with a strong division, in the provinces?" Such a style of reasoning could not have been pleasant to Don Carlos.

Erro, the minister, and Eguia, the general, could not agree; so the latter, about the middle of the month, went for the benefit of his health to the baths of Elorio, when

Villareal took command of the army. The progressive Carlists, particularly among the military, were narrowly watched, and several were under arrest.

There was much ultra-liberal commotion at Zaragoza, where General San Miguel and the National Guard declared they would resist the entry of General Narvaez to put it down; so the Isturiz Ministry had to temporise.

Count Boos Waldeck arrived at Bayonne, sent, I believe, by Prussia, to the Carlist quarters, to make observations and give advice.

On the 24th, Garcia attacked the Cristino blockhouse on the heights of Tirapigue, north of Pamplona, driving the Argelinos, or French volunteers, from that position; but Baron de Meer coming down on Garcia, there was a stubborn fight, in which each had some 400 killed and wounded.

There was much marching and countermarching by both armies, the Cristinos fearing a junction of the greater portion of the Carlist troops in the provinces with Cabrera, and a march upon Madrid.

General Evans was ill at San Sebastian; 800 to 1000 of his men were in hospital, the rest in a miserable plight. It was stated that many had sold their clothes, and even sentry-boxes, for food.

According to Mr. Burgess, the Carlist soldiery were discontented, especially with half rations, and many deserted to San Sebastian. A Navarrese battalion had even cried, "Death to Don Carlos."

The Portuguese contingent, originally 8000 men, now only counted about 2500. Many had deserted to their homes or to the Carlists.

At the end of June, the Cristinos gave the following

statement as to the forces on either side :—Of Cristinos, 320 chiefs; 2856 officers; 100,822 rank and file ; and 4885 cavalry—total, 108,883. Of these, there were in hospital, detached, and under drill, 30,773. The Carlists had, in the four provinces and Castile, 43 battalions of infantry, 10 squadrons of cavalry, 5 companies of artillery —total 29,917 ; 34 guns, 4 howitzers, and 3 mortars. Two cannon foundries at Mondragon and Oñate; four manufactories of arms; seventeen of ammunition; ten provision depôts; and fifteen hospitals.

The Carlists gave, for the four provinces, 36,600 infantry and 1200 cavalry; their reserve 9300 infantry and 100 cavalry; 53 guns, and 2 companies of engineers; guard of honour for Don Carlos, 800 infantry, 180 cavalry—total, 46,700 infantry, 1480 cavalry.

Army in Catalonia, 24,000 infantry and 600 cavalry; Arragon and Valencia, 16,000 infantry and 700 cavalry; in Galicia, and flying columns,7000—making a grand total of Carlists under arms of 93,700 infantry and 2,780 cavalry; not including armed parties in La Mancha, Castile, Toledo, Estramadura, &c.

The Commander-in-Chief in the provinces was Lieutenant-General Bruno Villareal. The 1st division was under Major-General Francisco Ituralde ; 2nd, Bartolomeo Guibelalde; 3rd, Major-General Miguel Gomez; 4th, Major-General Sarasa. Reserves under Brigadiers José Iturriza and Francisco Garcia. Artillery, Major-General Joaquin Montenegro. Engineers, Major-General Melchor Silvestre.

The Commander-in-Chief in Arragon and Valencia was Ramon Cabrera. His several divisions were led by Colonel José Quilez, José Miralles, José Cubells, and N. Forcadell. He had also with him El Serradorz and Padre Esperanza.

In Catalonia, Major-General Ignacio Burgo was the commander, his five divisions being led by himself, Brigadier José Torres, Benito Tristany, Colonel Matia Walls, and Colonel Jacinto Orten.

In Galicia, Francisco Lopez and Antonio Sarmento were the leaders.

Independently of this stated array of Carlist forces, there was discontent among the men and officers in the provinces. The men were getting tired of the war, and provisions and forage were scarce. Very many of the officers from other parts of Spain had to give way to those of the provinces. Mr. Burgess observes: "There was much insubordination in the Carlist foreign corps, composed of English deserters from the Legion, French, Germans, and Portuguese; there were floggings and imprisonments." Under date 29th June, he "heard that the Spanish English Commissioner passed a fortnight since from San Sebastian, and had endeavoured to persuade the men to desert. Eight have deserted" (to the Cristinos). "Prinderville, Richardson, Gladstone, Nilson, Fields, Pender, and Manning, with twelve soldiers, were shot (and the Spanish English Commissioner); the former three or four innocently, the soldiers without a trial.*" This wholesale shooting seems to have been done by a Colonel Cevallos, who was superseded. "Twenty English were in prison, awaiting a court of investigation. On the 30th Guipon, the French surgeon, confirmed the sad report of last night." (The above shootings.)

Cabrera,† after the barbarous death of his mother, broke down, and handed over his command to Manuel

* All these had deserted from the Legion, and were shot as mutineers.

† Vide "Militar de Cabrera." Vol II.

Añon, who, in company with Forcadell, cut off from a Cristino column thirty cavalry and shot them in a river. On the 5th March Torner's attack on Gandesa took place, where he used a four-pounder gun made out of the trunk of a tree, bound with iron. The first time it was fired with shot it burst. Torner retired, and joined Cabrera at Villarluengo. The Cristino free corps gave no quarter; those of Oli took some Carlists and shot them. Liria was surprised and sacked on the 29th March, when twenty-seven of the National Guard were made prisoners by the Carlists. On the 31st, after a verbal council of war, they were shot. On the 2nd April the action at Chiva with Palarea took place; he had 4000 infantry and 600 to 700 horse. Cabrera, who had got up from his bed suffering with fever, had three battalions and some cavalry. After a severe fight, Cabrera had to retire with the loss of nineteen killed. Twenty-three of his men were taken. Five got back to him; the others supposed to have been shot. Palarea wrote to Madrid that he left 250 to 300 dead on the field, and many wounded, and that he only lost four killed and some wounded. He was called the Vencedor de Chiva, and a medal was struck for the occasion.

Cantavieja, 30 miles E.N.E. of Ternel, was about to be fortified by the Cristinos; however, Cabrera took possession of it, and made it his stronghold. Torner had been beaten at Horta. He went to Catalonia to operate with Tristany, but returned soon to Arragon, his party dividing, some joining Cabrera. On the 18th April, Cabrera surrounded at Alcortas 150 Cristinos, and cut them to pieces. He foraged the country, taking much spoil, transporting it to Cantavieja, where he had a hospital. He issued proclamations inviting desertion from the Cristinos; but no quarter for the free corps.

The Cristinos suffered a considerable disaster near Daroca, south of Zaragoza, on the 31st May. Quilez says he was on his defence until reinforced, when Añon put himself at the head of the cavalry awaiting the enemy's attack. He charged, dispersed, and followed the enemy to a height where Valdez was with his infantry. Quilez followed Añon's movements, and fell suddenly upon two battalions, making them prisoners, 1547 in number. They were taken to Cantavieja. The men were incorporated with the Carlist troops, the officers were shot. Valdez said he only lost 500 in prisoners.

Cabrera was anxious to have possession of Morella, 20 miles E. of Cantavieja, where, being so near the coast, he might count on supplies by sea. The Cristinos accused him of inaction; but several projects were in his mind: to take Morella, tire the Queen's troops by over-marching, place Cantavieja in the best state of defence, cut up Iriarte's column, and also to fall upon the fortified towns of the frontier of Valencia for food, horses, and money. At Ulldecona, a little south of Tortosa, Cabrera, Beltran, Forcadell, Arevalo, Llangostera, and Pertegaz on the 17th June pounced on Iriarte, who had 1800 to 2000 infantry, two companies of peceteros, one gun, and forty horse. Iriarte lost 600 in killed and wounded; fifty prisoners taken were shot. Cabrera had four killed and fourteen wounded. The battle of Ulldecona produced terror in the Cristinos, enthusiasm among the Carlists; 400 young men during the eight days after the battle joined Cabrera.

There had been some Carlist successes in Catalonia; but the Cura Batanero raid to the south had been a failure. General Miguel Gomez, entrusted with an expedition of 3000 men, left Navarre for Galicia and Asturias, with the hope of preparing the way for Don

Carlos entering into Madrid. To facilitate Gomez's sally from the provinces, a division made a simulated movement on the positions held by the French Legion, forcing Cordova to go to Pamplona, which left the country to the south open for Gomez, who, leaving Amurrio on the 26th June, was unsuccessfully attacked the following day by General Tello with 3000 men between Medina and Villacayo. Gomez took many prisoners, muskets, and baggage. He then proceeded to Asturias.

Villareal commenced operations against Peñacerrada on the 28th, and the Cristinos were intent upon Vitoria. Cordova complained of Evans, "that he had eaten up £480,000, and done nothing; also that the 2500 Portuguese were so many mouths, but not muskets." There was much disaffection in Espartero's command; and having arrived at Espejo, north of the Ebro, on the route to Bilboa, in crossing a river he lost eighty men.

In the beginning of July, Don Carlos's Minister, Erro, had his difficulties, particularly with the Juntas. Both wanted absolute rule, thus rendering the management of affairs unsatisfactory.

French and English couriers were passing rapidly to and from Spain. It was said that Isturiz, finding much vacillation on the part of Louis Philippe, threatened to throw himself into the arms of the British Ministry. If so, then Isturiz might get funds from the Rothschilds, Ricardo, and others, especially for the Army of the North.

Cordova was not over comfortable in Pamplona, and, fearing an attack by the Carlists, ordered back precipitately to Logroño his military chest. Gomez made a sally from the provinces, and routed Tello. Cordova, on hearing that Espartero had lately got the worst of it, became infuriated, and it was said he even tore his hair.

Officers of Evans's Legion were leaving by twos and threes, passing through Bayonne; General Le Marchant was among them.

The Carlists took Peñacerrada and Treviño, both south of Vitoria, with the garrisons of 1500 men.

On the 4th July, the Carlist general, Garcia, attacked the lines of Valcarlos, north of Pamplona, and near to the frontier; he made some prisoners.

Ouvrard had had in hand the negotiation of a loan for Don Carlos since the commencement of the year, but had been unable to raise money.

It was whispered on the 9th at Bayonne, and believed by many, that three persons of consequence of Guipuzcoa had just been shot for conspiring against Don Carlos, and that several personages were under arrest.

Cordova was retrograding to the protection of Vitoria, where he arrived on the 10th, his army much in want of provisions. Espartero had divided his force into two divisions, sending one in pursuit of Gomez.

Evans was in San Sebastian, and, according to Cordova's view of the matter, doing little or nothing, and with four times the pay of a Spanish captain-general. Those of the Legion asked how it was that Cordova had not long since routed the Carlists from before Vitoria. Evans's men had been paid up to the 1st March, and as long as pay was pretty regular he would not resign, and had accepted the decorations he had at one time returned to Queen Cristina.

On the 10th, the Carlists exploded an infernal machine near to the Cristino picket-house at Behobie, in the hope of destroying it. The result was the Carlists had three men killed and several wounded.

For some time past the British Legion and Cristinos

had been preparing to attack Fuenterrabia, at the mouth of the Bidasoa, and Irun, with about 7000 men. A portion came by land from San Sebastian; the rest were conveyed by Lord John Hay, who was to lend his guns.* On the 11th and 12th there was severe fighting, and we at Bayonne heard that the Carlist positions were too strong for their enemy.

On the 13th I went to the Bidasoa, and I learnt that on the 11th the Cristinos, under Evans, Reid, and Jauregui, attacked Fuenterrabia and Irun, the Carlists numbering about 3000, but being in strong positions; that on the following day the Cristinos had to retreat, losing 300 in killed and wounded, and that the Carlists got hold of about a dozen of the English at the convent and shot them at once.

The Carlist account on the 12th, from Hernani, by Guibelalde, was as follows:—"Last night I informed you of the retreat of the artillery from the right of the enemy's line and its embarkation from San Sebastian. Favoured by the darkness of the night, the troops retired also, excepting those who occupied the more fortified points. About 2.30 a.m. I learnt that 9000 had gone in the direction of the heights of Pasages and Fuenterrabia. The latter place was besieged by sea and land; but the bravery of its defenders, and the courage of the few troops I brought from Hernani, caused the enemy to desist from their enterprise, driving them from several houses they occupied in the vicinity of Fuenterrabia and

* This attack was protected by a British naval force, and aided by a battalion of Royal Marines, and a battery of two guns and two howitzers, manned by British gunners. The force employed amounted to 7000 men, and yet it was driven back with loss. (Walton, ii., 491.) The Cristinos say very little about this affair.

other strong positions, obliging them to occupy the heights of Guadaloupe, where they remained during the night. They have had a severe loss in killed and wounded. To-morrow the enemy will recommence operations."

Guibelalde's bulletin of the following day states: "When the enemy this morning saw it was my intention to attack them, they commenced their march back by the same road they had come to Fuenterrabia. I followed, driving them from one position to another to near Pasages, causing them much loss. The steamers (English men-of-war) followed the movements of their retreat. It is now 3 p.m.; they occupy their old positions, and I their recent ones."

Guibelalde was decorated with the Grand Cross of St. Ferdinand for this defence.

Shaw in his memoirs gives details of the Fuenterrabia affair. He led the advance early on the morning of the 11th. He noticed the vivid flashes of the Carlists firing as they retired. On arriving before Fuenterrabia, it was observed to be strongly fortified, so it was determined to see what the gunboats and steamers could do. The British man-of-war "Phœnix" fired large shot and shell. Shaw's brigade had rough work of it—a body of Carlists formed on the bank of the river pouring in a heavy fire, which was too much for the Cristinos. Shaw's brave fellows were behaving as well in their retreat as their advance. The following day Shaw and the rest retired. He says: "Never did I see a better retreat; the men were mad from exhaustion, thirst, and fatigue." The Carlists lost 300 men. The general (Evans) was taken back to San Sebastian in a steamer, seriously ill. Shaw, under date 21st July, writes: "I am more and more convinced that Cordova has played foul, and that the poor Legion will be shoved into some

bloody action, so that large balances due to the officers and men may be settled or delayed in that manner."

The talk now was that Isturiz was praying for the active intervention of Louis Philippe, and even for him to send one of his marshals to command the Cristino army.

A party in the provinces had proposed that Don Carlos should be king of the north of Spain, to include Navarre, the Basque provinces, Catalonia, and a part of Arragon; Isabella II. to have the other portion. To this neither Cristinos nor Carlists would agree.

The Bishop of Leon was got over the frontier from Bayonne; he had come by Jersey and Bordeaux, and the Baron de los Valles appeared to have been his guide.

The Durango decree authorized the shooting of all foreigners taken prisoners by the Carlists; however, on the 15th July, Don Carlos listened for once to good advice, and issued an order in favour of soldiers and others serving under the British flag, stating that such persons had been forced to obey their Government. Don Carlos had been informed that Lord Palmerston would not tolerate the shooting of British troops.

### Letter IV.

"Bayonne, 18th July, 1836.

"The Bishop of Leon is with Don Carlos; Erro will be displaced, and the bishop will be again the Universal Minister! Such an individual for these times! He has not had the ability to strengthen his master's position in or out of Spain. Those of Don Carlos' and the bishop's line of ideas will have their confidence, but woe to those who may differ from them. The Church party will be in the ascendant, with no hope of reasonable doings.

"The Carlist arms have been fortunate in the provinces, especially at Fuenterrabia; the French Legion has been badly beaten; the army of the North is disorganised and embracing the republican views of 1812; Gomez and Garcia's expeditions to the south are examining into the political sentiments of the people; Cabrera, young, energetic, and victorious, is the terror of the Cristinos in Arragon and Valencia; Catalonia is in a state of insurrection against the Madrid Government, and Portugal has demanded the return of its troops, to oppose Miguelite risings. The Isturiz Ministry is weak, and the sooner it takes Mendizabal into its counsels the better. Cristina is perplexed, governed, of course, by a camarilla, and personally by her favourite, Muñoz. However, the Cristinos hold a good trump card in the quadruple alliance. Louis Philippe, it is believed, is playing with Cristinos and Carlists as may suit his changing views.

"Don Carlos should have published a rational policy long since—it may be too late now. Such a course would have quieted the minds of reasonable Carlists, have given courage to waverers, and decided disaffected Cristinos; it would have given confidence in and out of Spain, and all would have known how to act.

"The name of Don Carlos has now something painful about it: it is identified with absolutism, &c. It is a manifesto on a fair basis, with a general amnesty, that is required, and the form of it might be drawn up, say by Austria and Russia. It is thought by many that were 'Yo el Rey' attached to such a document, the war would soon be over, and the foreign parties to the quadruple alliance would look at the Spanish question as one *de facto*.

"This matter of the manifesto is the only hope for Don

Carlos; but were any one to mention the matter at head-quarters, *quatro balazos* (four bullets) would be his reward! I know many Carlists who would hail such a document with more fervour than the most holy of papal benedictions."

The Carlist general, Antonio Lopez, and seven officers had been surprised and taken prisoners by a Cristino chief named Luna, near Santiago, in Galicia. Lopez was mortally wounded. The officers, it was supposed, would be shot; if so, Villareal would shoot ten Cristino officers for one Carlist. Luna wrote: "This chief of the rebels is dead. I have exposed his body in the square of the hospital."

## Letter V.

"Bayonne, July 21, 1836.

"Absolutism is being established by Don Carlos. A decree in the 'Official Gazette,' as follows, dated Villafranca, appeared on the 17th:—'The zeal that animates the King in the sacred cause of religion, which is that of his throne, will not permit him to observe with indifference the corruptions of the times—that agent of impiety, the influence of revolutionary principles, which deluges Spain, nay, the whole world, with so many ills, including impious and blasphemous expressions. Fortunately for these loyal provinces, their morality is only to be equalled by their fidelity and valour. However, the license of war has made observable in some individuals the use of imprecations and blasphemies. The King, in his paternal solicitude to stay the progress of these disorders, and guard the young from pernicious examples, has resolved that, by means of this decree, to be sent to the several

authorities, they will inculcate the observances established by the laws and royal orders in this matter, under pain of the most serious responsibility; that the zeal of the priests be increased, and the army chaplains do conform to the sovereign will; that the corregidores and alcaldes do warn all persons known to use obscene words or blasphemies, and threaten them with the utmost rigour of the laws.' This appears to be Don Carlos's idea of a manifesto, and the way to help him to Madrid! This royal decree looks like a trap for those who do not go with the 'Corte' party, and any loose expression of theirs would be the subterfuge for persecution and ruin. Those who understood 'Las Cosas de España,' observed, 'Por el hilo se saca el ovillo' (by the thread we unwind the skein).

"The Carlist 'Gazeta Oficial,' published at Oñate, came out last October. It is issued about twice a week; folio size, of four pages. Here is the style of its news:—'The King is in good health, also the Serene Señor Don Sebastian. Last information from Salzbourg: the Prince of Asturias, the Infantes Don Juan and Don Fernando, their august aunt, Doña Maria Teresa, and the Infanta Doña Maria Amalia were well. Two hundred and twenty-five deserters from the enemy, from 1st to 16th June, had received the promised gratuity; also seven English lancers, mounted and armed. The sons of Louis Philippe had not been well received at Vienna. Favourable extracts from the "Morning Post," containing much hard language against Evans and the assassins with him, and speaking in no measured terms of the Durango decree. From the "Morning Herald," a long article against the financial proceedings of Donna Maria. When Dom Miguel was expelled the foreign debt was only a million and a half,

now it is nearly fourteen millions sterling, and another loan required. Mendizabal got much out of the "smuggling Oporto expedition" (siege of Oporto, &c.), and there was paid £30,000 each to Terceira and Saldanha. Cristina wants another loan, and may get it; but her treasury will ever be in a bankrupt state. The Cristinos suffered a frightful loss at Fuenterrabia, and there were companies of the British Legion that only took seven men out of the field. The expeditions of Gomez and Garcia continued to be successful. Cabrera, with 6,000 infantry and five squadrons of cavalry, on the 18th inst., routed an enemy's column near Amposta. The enemy lost seven hundred men. Cristina was not to hope for French intervention,' &c.

"Carlists and Cristinos were marching and countermarching, and popping occasionally at each other; however, on the 19th, Villareal left Amurrio for the valley of Mena. The Cristino reserves at Medina and other villages were driven off in disorder, losing many in killed and wounded, and 300 prisoners. At same date the Cristino auxiliary, Bernetti, tried to take Estella, but was repulsed, when he is said to have exercised great cruelties on the inhabitants of the vicinity.

"It was reported that the Cristino partisans in Galicia, especially at Gijon, on the approach of the Carlists, abandoned their town, when many were stricken with apoplexy, and some went mad. Gomez took money and arms from Santiago. A Carlist force, under Sopelana and Castor, had succeeded in forcing a line in the mountains of Santander, thus cutting off Bilbao and that port, and were enabled to keep open a route from Asturias to Galicia.

"About the 24th it was argued that if Cabrera was as

strong as reported he might easily form a junction with Gomez, who was in Soria, and push towards Madrid; but there was the question: how were the majority of the people in the capital really affected in favour of Don Carlos? Then there were large divisions also of the Cristino army to be encountered.

"Louis Philippe was still temporising in Spanish affairs. His sons were in Germany, hoping to obtain wives there; but as this did not appear probable, Thiers, who was Minister, pressed strongly on his master to allow 20,000 more French volunteers to aid Isabella, and even to lend her money."

## LETTER VI.

"Bayonne, July 25th, 1836.

"Don Carlos, to ordinary observers, maintains his ground well in the provinces, and the Queen's troops are generally repulsed when they try to advance into the mountains. The Cristinos have to be well on their guard to prevent their enemy attacking, and at least sacking Pamplona and Vitoria. Evans's late attack on Fuenterrabia, and Bernetti's on Estella, were failures. Gomez is doing well in Asturias and Galicia; Garcia had got as far as Soria, some eighteen leagues from Madrid, and was preparing to form a junction with Cabrera, and try for the capital. Ultra-Carlists see themselves already in Madrid, and will not take into account the fierce opposition they are likely to meet with from the military and civilians ere they get before the walls of the capital. True, there is much disorganisation amongst the Cristinos; the Isturiz Ministry is very shaky; but Mendizabal

has all the Liberals of 1812, and very many others, with him.

"Some say, should revolution and Carlism get the upper hand in Madrid, Isabella must fly to Cadiz, and seek safety on board an English or French man-of-war. But England and France will surely do their best to prevent Don Carlos getting to Madrid; and should the Northern Powers come out angrily for him, they would have to chance a European war, which it is not likely they would enter into.

"If Don Carlos is seriously contemplating getting to Madrid, are his advisers preparing him to meet Spain upon rational terms? I should say no. Neither Whig nor Tory England will agree to Carlist absolutism, and the Liberal party is in the ascendant. France, as a nation, will follow England on this question, however Louis Philippe may wish otherwise. Some see revolution à la Francesa for Spain. I do not. Risings of the people, revolts of the military, and shootings are the Spanish way of arranging political matters. A large number of waverers, could they believe that Don Carlos would follow a judicious course, would join his standard. Viva el Rey is still dear to Spaniards; but let the present political state of things continue much longer in the provinces, and the name of Don Carlos will be hated. He represents one party, Isabella the other. If he will not openly declare himself, he will soon have nearly the whole of Spain against him. The Carlists do wrong by design, and seldom do right by mistake."

## CHAPTER XIII.

GENERAL BELLENGERO exiled—His remarkable letter to Don Carlos—The first officer to join him in Portugal—Forms cavalry in Navarre—Deprived of that command, he commands a brigade—His fight at Arrigoriaga—The "Corte" will ruin Don Carlos—Bellengero leaves the service and retires to Sumbilla—Is imprisoned there; requested to confess to an alleged conspiracy—The provinces tired of the war—Carlists sabred in Madrid; revolutionary disorders—Mina's severities—Threats on those who had left the provinces—Cristina at La Granja, fearful of being made prisoner by Garcia—The Tories and Palmerston—Cordova gives up command to Sarsfield—Bishop of Leon supersedes Erro—Metternich advises affiancing young Don Carlos to Isabella—British Legion fail at Ametzagama—Proclamation of Constitution of 1812—Political advice sent to Bishop of Leon—Letter VII., Mendizabal in opposition—St. Just and Donadio murdered at Malaga—The Garay intrigue—Letter VIII., Wish to affiance the Duke de Nemours to Isabella; better to an Austrian Prince—Letter IX., Biographies of Bishop of Leon, Don Sebastian, Cruz-Mayor, Erro, the five O'Donnells, Don Carlos, &c.—Difficulties of Quesada "the Terrible"—Letter A, Sufferings and discontent in the Carlist army—Don Carlos takes no advantage of his position—Letter B, Injustice to good officers; called Freemasons and denounced from the pulpits—Alleged conspiracies bring forth arbitrary measures—Letter C, Position of Don Carlos—Letter X, What Cristinos and Carlists might do.

GENERAL JUAN DE BELLENGERO came to Bayonne on the 27th July. He had been for some time at Sumbilla in Navarre, living a retired life; was afterwards imprisoned there; then sent out of the provinces, and ordered not to return without written for. I had seen much of this energetic officer in Portugal and Holland, and it was hoped by foreign royalists that Don Carlos would have cherished such men as Bellengero, who were made of the

right stuff to have well directed him; but the bigoted camarilla and the "Corte" called such men traitors.

The following—written by Bellengero, bearing date 4th June; was sent to Don Carlos, who received it about the 25th July—will give some idea of the peculiar state of affairs in the provinces. It is but a *résumé* of the original document, which I translated and sent to Baron de Haber, who would communicate it to the Legitimist Courts:—

"To His Majesty Don Carlos V.

"Sumbilla, 4th June, 1836.

"Sire,—Would I were deprived of memory, so as to prevent my bringing to the remembrance of your Majesty some of the services I have rendered, and the motives that oblige me to abandon my country (from which I have long been proscribed for my loyalty to Carlos V.), when I once more trod its soil and contributed to conquer those places which now obey you.

"Fifteen days after the death of your brother I went to Portugal, and in person was the first officer who recognised you as King of Spain.* Eight months I accompanied you in that country. In the terrible position in which you found yourself by the capitulation of Dom Miguel at Evora in May, 1834, I was by your side until you had safely embarked for England, and then sailed to Hamburg in charge of one hundred of your officers. I got to Navarre, where, finding no command for my grade,

* The notes to this letter were given by Bellengero to the author subsequently. Don Carlos was then at Marvão, with the Jesuit Calle, Villavicencio, and Fuentenebria, the secretary of the Princess of Beira. He had no fixed plans; I proffered mine, which were opposed by the above persons. Don Carlos built his hopes merely on his "legitimate rights."

I charged myself with the formation of a squadron of cavalry, composed of officers, which I often led into the field. Although your Majesty was not a witness to these acts, you were cognisant of them, as well as of the satisfactory state the cavalry was in whilst under my command; and I do you the justice to believe that it was not your wish, but the designing hypocrisy and particular views of a certain individual,* which led to the ruin of that arm of the service at a moment when the war was about to be carried into a country where cavalry was indispensable.

"For a month I followed the royal head-quarters. No post was offered me; nothing was said as to the motives for depriving me of my cavalry command, which no one with honourable motives could dispute.

"I was a witness of the base conduct in regard to Zumalacarregui—the demonstrations of joy of those who surrounded your Majesty when they heard of his death. I was myself obliged, in July last, to request permission to retire from service, which was not allowed. On the 6th August I was placed under the orders of the Commandant-General of Biscay, who gave me a brigade on the 15th, and I marched to the right of the army which was before Bilbao, so as to draw closer the lines of the blockade.

"On the 11th September, under the orders of Lieutenant-General Maroto, after eight hours' fighting and the loss of 400 men, but which led to the occupation of the bridge of Arrigoriaga, a principal point of the lines, mine were the first troops which obliged the enemy to retreat, and decided

* Intrigues of the Cura Echeveria, to give my command to his countryman Oritigosa, who had not the requisite experience; Moreno and Villamur were slaves to the Cura.

in favour of his Majesty's arms the victory of that day,* the first we had obtained since the death of Zumalacarregui, and would have led to more important results, but for the confused plans of General Moreno, and the desire of inducing your Majesty to leave Biscay. Being distant from the seat of truth, calumny had greater power against the division of Biscay. Recompenses were distributed most partially. I received on the 16th an order to march to Guipuzcoa, when I had been long destined for another operation. I was wounded to the quick, and had to pass three months in inactivity, and was obliged to obey such men as the Cura Echeveria, Uranga, Cruz-Mayor, and others like them, whose perfidious views have prepared a miserable future for your Majesty, and who only work for their own benefit with the blood of others. They will not accept the services of the meritorious. They, in the name of your Majesty, issued on the 24th June, 1835, that proclamation to the army which posterity will read with disgust.† These are the men who have even disgusted the people of the provinces and demoralised the army, whose ignorance and evil counsels have placed fearful obstacles to the triumph of your cause, who have placed your Majesty on the brink of a precipice from which it is now almost too late to recede. Events will soon justify my words.

"I merited the confidence of Zumalacarregui; and a few hours before his death he wrote favourably of me to your Majesty. It was then I became more than ever the

* This is generally considered my (Bellengero's) action, but Villareal, a Navarrese, was recompensed for it; however, he was not in the intrigues.

† This has reference to that portion issued the day after Zumalacarregui died: "The loss of the illustrious warrior causes an opening that can be filled to my greatest satisfaction."

point of attack of his despicable enemies . . . These, and other reasons I reserve, urged me to solicit permission to retire. On the 11th January this year I left Hernani, authorised to enter France, but many brother officers begged of me not to leave. I retired to Sumbilla. In April, an agent, sent by your Minister of Grace and Justice, came to examine my papers, which having done, he asked if I was conspiring against the King. This question I treated with disdain. He left me a close prisoner, with a brutal guard. The family in whose house I lodged was treated like those of Puente Larra, Gadea, and Pancorvo.* In May the same agent returned, with an order from your Majesty pressing me 'to make important revelations, counting on the clemency of your Majesty.' My reply was, 'An innocent person did not require clemency, and that a man like myself, when he has the misfortune to become criminal, does not ask it.' I was threatened with persecution. The agent, Salgado, came again, exacting declarations from men, women, and children of the house, and when the depositions were not in conformity with his wish, they were intimidated with the anger of the devil, and told that only by a pilgrimage to Rome could they be absolved from false oaths. Tiberius would not have had doubts of a man who had given so many proofs of devotion as I had to your Majesty. Thus then, sire, is feebly presented what has occasioned my proscription, my ruin: a recompense I did not expect at the hands of Carlos V. Still it may be just, and will be an example to those who, like myself, sacrifice to their opinion the peace of their country.

* The house was pillaged, even the rings torn out of the ears of the women.

"Providence may have fixed the period when your Majesty will see all your hopes blasted. The provinces have over-suffered the weight of the war, and perceive that their sacrifices are useless. They bitterly mourn the loss of their children; they only see ruin.

"The ignorant counsellors who surround your Majesty are only occupied in abominable projects, and hide from you the misery and disgust of the people and the soldiery. There is now no human power able to re-animate their enthusiasm; the only desire of the troops is to return to their homes.

"Sire, that prince who abandons during war the sword of honour to his menials, confers during peace that of justice on his favourites."

In the beginning of August we heard that great activity had been noticed at the Spanish Embassy in Paris, and continual conferences were taking place between General Alava and Thiers.

There had been disorder at Zaragoza, the turbulent ultra-Liberals demanding a change of Ministry at Madrid. The same sort of troubles were rife at Malaga, Seville, and Granada. Letters from Madrid of 27th July stated that for the last three days blood had run in the streets, and that thirty Carlist partisans, supposed to have been in correspondence with Basilio Garcia, had been sabred.

At Barcelona, four persons, compromised in an attempt to take the stronghold of Figueras from the Cristinos, had been garotted; Mina being resolved to punish the Carlists with every severity.

Don Carlos was at Aspetia performing his devotions on the occasion of the feast of St. Ignatius Loyola.

The denunciations issued lately in the church of Lesaca,

by the Bishop of Leon, and repeated by the Curas against the young men of the provinces who had escaped conscription and gone into France, had caused some to return. As these arrived, the authorities released their relatives who had been imprisoned as hostages. Should Don Carlos receive any serious check, the young men would again desert, taking their families with them, "who are tired out by the length of the war and the misery occasioned by it."

Garcia and Cuevillas had left the provinces to aid the operations of Gomez, and had got by Soria to Sepulveda, at which time Cristina and her Court were at La Granja, passing the summer season. She became alarmed, when three or four columns of troops were sent after the Carlist commanders, but did not come up with them; on the contrary, they surprised a column at Arauzo, making 300 prisoners, and recrossed the Ebro with much booty. It was hoped that Garcia would have made a dash at La Granja, and have captured the Court. Had he got hold of Isabella, some Carlists hoped to have forced a satisfactory arrangement upon the Cristinos; others thought there would have been short work with Cristino royalty, upon the principle of the instructions to Rodil not to be over tender with Don Carlos and his family, when he nearly caught them on the Portuguese frontier in 1834.

The Tories in the House of Commons were worrying Lord Palmerston, and wanted to know how many Marines and other British troops had been fighting for Isabella. His lordship gave saucy answers, in his wonted style, and took no heed of the protests of the Northern Powers.

On July 25 the head-quarters of Cordova were at Miranda del Ebro. Villareal was near Vittoria on the 28th, watching an opportunity to enter and force contributions.

Miguel Zumalacarregui, brother of the late general, had been elected a Cristino deputy, and his brother, the Cura, had also Liberal tendencies.

Cordova, not being revolutionary enough for the Madrid Government, was superseded by Sarsfield.

The Bishop of Leon was to have his old place of Ministro Universal, and Erro, the former Minister, was glad to get away, and was to be sent money-hunting to the Legitimist Courts.

We now heard, on good authority, that Prince Metternich had strongly advised, if possible, the affiancing of Don Carlos's eldest son to Isabella. I subsequently heard from a Spanish friend in the provinces, who alluded to an article in the "Gazette de France" of 31st July, that all well-wishers to Spain (then in so lamentable a position) would be rejoiced at it, and especially at the fifteen clauses contained therein, which were so many anchors of hope; that European ministers, by looking honestly at the pacification of Spain, should force a dynastic arrangement, even if the son of Don Carlos should only be king-consort.

On the 1st August Villareal attacked the Cristinos, who were 5000 strong, at Zubiri, north of Pamplona, with about the same number. They are said to have skirmished from 4 a.m. to 9 p.m., each losing 200 in killed and wounded. Both parties claimed a victory.

On the same date the British Legion made a sortie from San Sebastian, attempting to take the heights of Ametzagama, but failed.

At 3 a.m. on the 4th a courier in great haste from Madrid went through Bayonne, with the information that Zaragoza, Malaga, and Granada had proclaimed the Constitution of 1812 with assassinations.

It was known at head-quarters that Baron de Haber

and myself sympathised with General Bellengero and his views, so we were considered traitors. The ultra-Carlists in the provinces would not heed the truth, consequently they could not progress. Their camarilla at Bayonne had much to do with the *coup* of getting the Bishop of Leon into Spain and Erro out of office, and it pleased Don Carlos.

On the 6th I forwarded letters from Baron de Haber to the Bishop of Leon, containing political advice, that had met with the approval of high personages on the Continent.

Baron de la Valles passed through Bayonne to Don Carlos, with correspondence from the Princess of Beira and the Infantes.

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## Letter VII.

"Bayonne, August 6, 1836.

"When Mendizabal was ousted by Isturiz, the former fell back upon the Constitution of 1812. With the new elections Isturiz managed to get a majority. Mendizabal, now in opposition, shouts his old cry of 'Viva la Constitucion de 1812,' which is responded to from Malaga, Granada, and Zaragoza. It will soon be heard from Cadiz and Catalonia; then the Carlists must beware of assassinations.* St. Just, the civil, and Donadio, the military governors of Malaga, in attempting to quell a tumult, have perished. In Madrid imprisonments and assassinations are the order of the day. The Ministry and the Court are in an un-

* Ten Carlists were shortly afterwards murdered at Carthagena.

comfortable position. England, France, and even the continental Powers seem to be tired and disgusted with Spanish affairs. People here observe: 'If Don Carlos does not push forward now to Madrid he deserves to be kicked out of Spain.' I fear that a successful march upon Madrid is very problematical. Had Zumalacarregui lived he would have been long since in the capital, or have nobly failed in the attempt; and what officers and men he would have had to have followed him!

"Should Don Carlos get some sudden inspiration, and order a march upon Madrid, so disorganised is his army that its progress would soon be stopped; then all sections of the Liberals would for the time forget their differences and present a determined front. Isturiz and Mendizabal, although they have had a pop at each other, would shoulder muskets side by side.

"It is thought that if the politicians of 1812 get the upper hand, and continue the revolution, they will have a republic, France will recall its volunteers, and England will suggest the propriety of Evans's return.

"The Garaya intrigue, that the Basque provinces should be placed under French protection, has been given up; Louis Philippe listened to the proposal, but its acceptance was quite another affair.

"The ultra-Carlist camarilla at Bayonne say their political and other services have not been sufficiently rewarded, so they are looking sharply after themselves."

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## Letter VIII.

"Bayonne, August 8, 1836.

"It is whispered that Louis Philippe may be inclined

to armed intervention in Spain, to prevent the spread of revolution, his wish being to serve Isturiz, and in the hope of getting Isabella (now only six years of age) for the Duke of Nemours. In this case, there would be a long Spanish-French regency; but England would have a voice against French matrimonial proceedings. A telegraphic message arrived this morning from Paris to have 20,000 French troops in readiness to march into Spain; but depend upon it no troops will cross the frontier.

"Some say, why not affiance Isabella to some Austrian prince, and by giving Louis Philippe commercial advantages he would not oppose it? Get Don Carlos away, giving him a good pension. Give England also commercial advantages; but England looks to political as well as other arrangements, and knows and can manage her own affairs very well."

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### Letter IX.

"Bayonne, August 9, 1836.

"I send you translations of short biographies of certain Carlist characters. They are by General Bellengero.

"Joaquin Abarca, Bishop of Leon, has a cardinal's hat in perspective. He loves the title of universal minister. When affairs go smoothly, he is indolent; when there is danger he can be most active. He is incessantly smoking paper cigars.

"The Cura Ramon Pecondon, his secretary, reads Latin horridly, speaks Spanish badly, and hates foreign languages.

"The elder Asnarez, an old lawyer, and very econo-

mical; the younger (Manuel), favourite and agent of Don Carlos in London. He considers himself an Adonis. Mere cunning he takes for diplomacy. He learnt no good at the Spanish Legation at Naples.

"Villavicencio, an intriguer, like all palace folk; Don Carlos's principal attendant.

"Morrejon, a coward, of low soul and birth; looks like a Creole; is Secretary of the War Department, and most ignorant of his duties.

"Labrador, Alcudia, and Valdespina are gentlemen.

"The Conde de Prado, commandant-general of cavalry; a courtier, and has only old ideas of soldiery.

"Segastibelza had the reputation of being a great pillager; was brave; killed before San Sebastian.

"Sabala, a good and brave soldier.

"Soldavilla (brigadier); he is in charge of the remains of the Queen at Portsmouth.

"Don Sebastian; he is politic, and knows how to look out for himself.

"General Moreno; his motto should be: I arrived at Mendigorria, and the Cristinos used me up.

"Basilio Garcia, a brigadier at one step; was the collector of produce at Logroño, and administrator of Papal Bulls. On a marauding expedition to the south.

"General Sans, the son of a shoemaker of Vigo; served well under Zumalacarregui; has been badly wounded.

"Baron de los Valles (Auget de St. Sylvain), a French Carlist; lived in Madrid; was with Don Carlos in Portugal; smuggled Don Carlos into Spain; a bustling individual; wrote a novel, 'Career of Don Carlos.'*

* After the Carlist war it appears he went to St. Petersburg, where he became a wine merchant, and soon afterwards died.

"General Eraso; succeeded Zumalacarregui; he was a moderate man, and hated the French.

"Iturralde; ambitious, and has few friends.

"General Uranga; he does not know even the names of the various pieces of artillery; so ignorant that he could not enter for a Mostense friar, and they are stupid indeed.

"Carlos Cruz-Mayor; a little fellow, called from Bordeaux to head-quarters, as there was no one there to write a despatch; he grasped at too much, and fell.

"Juan Bautista "de" Erro. He never had a "de" in his family. The revolution of 1808 saw him intendant in the army until 1820, deprived of which he went to France, and was anti-Constitutionalist. He became one of the Burgos Regency, and was under the protection of the Duke of Angoulême; then councillor to Ferdinand; got into disgrace, and remained in foreign lands until 1836, when he became Minister Universal to Carlos V. He is very tall, good-looking, and about seventy. He is an Absolutist at heart.

"Colonel Carlos Luis O'Donnell entered the cavalry in 1822. On the death of Ferdinand he joined Don Carlos in Portugal, and accompanied him to England. On his way to Navarre he was arrested, and imprisoned for six months in Paris. Zumalacarregui gave him the command of the cavalry. He was a most distinguished officer. In an impetuous charge upon a host of the enemy under the walls of Pamplona he was mortally wounded, and died at Murgia, surrounded by some old comrades, who mourn his loss. He was thirty-six years of age, and considered one of the best cavalry officers in Spain. (See p. 142.)

"Colonel Juan O'Donnell. In 1824 was captain in the Infantry Guard. When Ferdinand died he left the

service, and retired to France, with his wife, Leopoldina de las Heras. He went with his brother, Carlos Luis, to the provinces, and commanded the 1st Battalion of Castile. He distinguished himself at Mendigorria, where he was wounded. His battalion was selected to form part of Guergue's expedition to Catalonia, where he was made prisoner, and butchered, with over a hundred Carlists, by a Barcelona mob. He was thirty-two years of age. (See p. 176.)

"Colonel Leopold O'Donnell, the third brother. He is on the side of the Queen. He lost a leg at the battle of Arquijas.*

"Henrique O'Donnell, the fourth brother; lieutenant in the Carlist cavalry. (Fell in action May, 1840.)

"Leopold O'Donnell, son of Henrique Conde de la Bisbal, cousin of the before-mentioned, was colonel of the Infantry of the Guard. He was made prisoner by the Carlists before the promulgation of the Eliot convention, and was shot at Alsasua. (See p. 88.)

"Colonel Pouso, an infamous intriguer, was shot by his own men at Guernica.

"General Abreu was in the late Queen's suite; he is now hidden somewhere in France.

"General Torres; shot by the Cristinos in Catalonia.

* In 1836, on the forced abdication of Cristina, O'Donnell, then a general, and Conde de Lucena, retired to France. On the fall of Espartero, in 1843, he went to Cuba as captain-general, returning to Spain with a large fortune. In the insurrectionary movements of 1854 Espartero had to give him the Ministry of War. After being eclipsed by his rival, Narvaez, he returned to France in 1858. His command in Morocco gave him the title of Duke of Tetuan. In 1866 he was displaced by Narvaez; he retired to Biarritz, where he died, Narvaez following to the tomb scarcely four months afterwards, on the 23rd April, 1868.

"Lord Eliot, Colonels Gurwood and Wylde; most excellent gentlemen.

"N. Fuentenebro, secretary to the Princess of Beira, was corregidor of Roa, in Castile. He had to do with the death of the Empecinado.*

"Padre Frias, a Jesuit; intelligent, and full of self-esteem.

"The Cura Echeveria; a bad Christian.

"His Majesty Carlos V. Rises between six and seven; prays. After dressing hears mass. Breakfasts at eight. Commences or continues his letters to his sister-in-law and lady-love, the Princess of Beira (soon to be his wife), and to his sons. Then listens to news and observations, some of which are against his most faithful partisans. Of late it is difficult to obtain an audience. He signs what documents may be put before him. Dines at two; then siesta until four or five. Has his walk, accompanied (at the present time) by the Cura Echeveria, and Generals Uranga and Villamur, and a servant. On his return he takes refreshment, finishes his letters, and again despatches official papers. Listens to all sorts of rumours—many fabricated to please him; for example, as to the existence of irreligious ideas in the army, &c. He then prays; after which to supper. About eleven prays again, and then to bed.

"He is very seldom in uniform; but he wore it at the benediction of the Standard of the Virgin, worked by the Princess of Beira. He seems to look with indifference upon the death of his officers and soldiers, but rejoices at

* Juan Martin Diaz. He was the son of a peasant; a famous guerilla chief, and entered Madrid with Wellington. He disliked the government of Ferdinand VII., and, regardless of former services, was executed in 1825, on a charge of conspiracy. The term "Empecinado" is given to the inhabitants of Castillo del Duero.

the fall of his enemies. He is suspicious, ready to receive false views, and quick at executing bad designs. He was even suspicious of the great Zumalacarregui. He never forgets what he conceives to be an injury, and seldom pardons. He studiously keeps silence as to his political views. More blood must run to waste, which might be prevented were he to make it known that his intentions would be of a rational character."

A Tory writer's opinions of Don Carlos:*—"Like all good men, he is devoted to his religion, and has never attempted to support it by violent means. During his brother's reign he abstained from all interference with the Government, and lived in retirement. He is upright in his dealings, generous, matured by experience, and anxious to heal the wounds of his country. He has habits of laborious application, is humane in disposition, and is a bright example of private virtue. From a fugitive he has become a conqueror. The crown of all his virtues is his delicate sense of honour; believing that if truth were banished from every bosom, it should find an asylum in the breast of kings."

Letters from Madrid stated there had been a "Constitutional pulsation" to upset the Government; that on the 3rd Quesada the Terrible had been called out to the National Guard, who were revolutionary. Madrid was declared to be in a state of siege, the National Guard was to be dissolved, and a proclamation issued condemning any one to death who uttered the cry of "Viva" or "Muera." When the affairs of the several parties were in a bad state, there was a cry for French intervention;

* Walton ii., 524.

when things became quieter, no intervention—we can manage our own matters.

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### Letter A.*

"Bayonne, 10th August, 1836.

"When I first entered Navarre, I saw soldiers whose state moved me to compassion. The whole army was in about the same position, excepting when equipped with what had belonged to the enemy. Latterly cloaks and trousers have been given to some of the battalions. The men are good; not so the officers of the provinces. Neither are they instructed in military matters, so as to give the men more reliance on tactics, which keeps them in their mountains. There is much discontent in the army. The soldiers hate the name of the 'Corte,' 'Real,' or royal head-quarters; seldom now is heard the cry of 'Viva el Rey.'

"With Erro's advent funds were promised, but they did not arrive. Erro was known to the soldiers as 'El Grande,' on account of his height; Don Carlos as 'El Chico,' the little one.

"The officers, natives of other parts of Spain, amongst whom there are very many of great worth on account of their military knowledge and bravery, are passed over for those of the provinces, and this favouritism has been going on since the death of Zumalacarregui. For example, Villareal two years since was a lieutenant; he is now

* The letters marked alphabetically were written in Spanish by General Bellengero to Baron de Haber, and translated by the author, who sent them forward.

Lieutenant-General and Commander-in-Chief. Something of the same sort may be said of Garcia, Sans, and four brigadiers, to whom are attributed all the victories.

"The over-favourable accounts published in the Carlist papers are a mistake, and dictated by persons from interested motives. I am a witness to the horrors perpetrated in this civil war. Don Carlos takes no political or military advantage of the Cristino difficulties. A great victory in his favour, and a very rigorous winter, would break up the Cristino army in the north; but he has still to march south and occupy Madrid before he can call himself 'Rey de España.'"

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LETTER B.

"Bayonne, 12th August, 1836.

"I know many officers are devoted to the cause, otherwise they could not have suffered so many privations and injustice. The great majority of these are placed in depots; some to officer reserves to accompany not very successful expeditions, which, after the most fatiguing and inglorious marches, return to their old quarters. These are the victims of base intrigues at the 'Real;' they are termed 'suspected,' and called freemasons and irreligious by certain monks and curas from the pulpit, and in the presence of the King. Such expressions, and the idea of conspiracies against his person, offer a wide field for unjust and arbitary measures. Inquisitorial and disgusting tyrannical and fanatical decrees are thus obtained from the King. How often did Zumalacarregui, but without success, beg of the King to show himself on the field of battle. He never will go amongst his soldiery as long as

he has about him those who in their stupidity have managed to impress him with their views, reducing him to a state of inaction.

"Many of those who accompanied Don Carlos from Portugal, and who know his character well, say that the opinion formed of him in some foreign countries is an erroneous one. His acquirements are limited, and under an apparent gentleness he is revengeful. An unfriendly imputation against those who have served him well, or an anonymous letter, will ruin the party complained of. Those who have made the King more than ever suspicious are mainly Villamur, Uranga, Echeveria, Villavicencio, and Cruz-Mayor.

"Erro made himself an object of derision with his dictatorial title of Universal Minister. Don Carlos has little to do with foreign diplomatic relations. There is no exchequer to administer, for what is squeezed out of the provinces is at the disposal of the Juntas. As for justice, there is none, and therefore needs no Minister. A Ministry of the Interior is not needed, for all is under martial law. In Zumalacarregui's time Villamur was called Minister of War, and Cruz-Mayor Secretary of State. The first signed military documents, the second corresponded with the agents at Bayonne. Don Carlos thus knew but little of his general's plans until he heard the results, and to this he owed his victories."

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LETTER C.

"Bayonne, 13th August, 1836.

"Here is the present position of Don Carlos's cause: Three years of a devastating war have so reduced the pro-

vinces that they are unable to continue their efforts; those who govern have no fixed plans, and the people see no hope of success.

"Had corn not been obtained from France two months before the crops could have been gathered, many of the battalions must have surrendered, for they were starving. The troops before San Sebastian had only half a pound of bread each served out for many days. Desertion from the Carlists is rather considerable, and over 800 persons of the frontier villages between Zugarramurdi and Irun are imprisoned, whose sons have escaped into France, and, notwithstanding the bad usage these hostages are subjected to, but few of the young men return. Erro has established a 'Vigilancia Publica,' which is held in detestation. Its occupation is to search out those who wish for a rational form of government.

"Then, have the provinces no other war cry than Carlos V. and his cause? Yes: Privileges, or Fueros, in danger; and the Basques exacted from Don Carlos the oath to protect their 'Fueros.' Then the independence of the Juntas and their opposition to the Universal Minister.

"The tenor of the Eliot convention, Zumalacarregui and his army considered so great a boon, and which Don Carlos had to assent to, is not observed. The fearful Durango decree is the cause of this. The war will be carried on in the bitterest manner—'encarnizarse,' glutted with blood. One of the projectors was the Conde Villamur, who is a Frenchman."

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LETTER X.

"Bayonne, 13th August, 1836.

"I hear that the Cristinos are forming plans for

immediate action, in which France, through General Harispe, has been consulted, and his command on the frontier will be in readiness to assist. Colonel Wylde, the British commissioner, whom I have just spoken with, is on his way from General Evans, who is at San Sebastian, to Harispe, and to General Sarsfield, who is at Pamplona. The new French volunteers now at Pau will probably enter Spain by the bridge of the Bidassoa; the English and Cristino troops will cover this movement, when Fuenterrabia might be successfully attacked.

"These plans will call up Carlist troops to Hernani and Irun; when the Cristinos now sustaining the line of the Ebro could march on Bergara—only a day's work; and those in Pamplona and its vicinity, by making a movement on its right flank, would facilitate the Cristino occupation of Irun, Hernani, and Tolosa. This combination, and not a difficult one, if carried into effect, would take much good ground from the Carlists, many resources, and dispirit the men. The Cristinos then would have a safe communication by land from San Sebastian by Irun to France."

## CHAPTER XIV.

Palmerston says Isabella must triumph—Madrid will not have Don Carlos—Letter XI., The army for the Constitution—Don Carlos has another chance—Ferdinand's "froth of blood"—Foreign deserters leave the Carlists—Don Carlos compared to the Cid—Letter XII., Advice to Carlists—England and France must look seriously into matters—Letter D., Spain and Don Carlos; his do-nothing character—Letter XIII., The Juntas hurry Don Carlos to swear to their Fueros—Letter E., He made no arrangements for his succession—Death of Zumalacarregui—Sergeant Garcia forces Cristina to accept the Constitution of 1812—Ideas and camarillas—Letter XIV., Isturiz falls—Calatrava and Mendizabal form a Ministry—Rodil supersedes Quesada—Letter F., Zumalacarregui plans to cross the Ebro, and march south; ordered by Don Carlos to Bilbao—French Ministry for intervention; Louis Philippe not decided—Quesada brutally murdered—Peculations in the provinces—Ituralde surprised near Lodosa—Letter XV., Don Carlos fast losing friends—Royal Guard in Madrid fail in favour of Cristina—Cordova—Politics at Bayonne (St. Esprit)—Letter G., Affiance young Don Carlos to Isabella; Louis Philippe's view; Spain not known out of the country; Suggestions—England's decision for Isabella—Constitutional oaths—Cristino forces—Maroto publicly enters La Cerdaña (Catalonia)—Desertions from, and sick in Carlist army—Conspiracies against Don Carlos—General Bellengero requested to retire from the frontier; his fate—Instead of a manifesto by Don Carlos, he issued a fanatical sermon—Cordova in Bayonne—Author goes to London.

The Tory member, Mr. M'Lean, in the House of Commons continued his advocacy for a *real* non-intervention of England in the affairs of Spain; Lord Palmerston replying, in his usual jocose manner, that "the cause of Isabella II. would soon be triumphant."

The Cristino Government had taken stringent measures

with the press, which promised to behave better. I was shown a letter from Madrid, which gave details of a number of persons of rank and fortune who had sworn never to be governed by Don Carlos.

On the 15th General Evans and Captain Henry (Peak) of the Cristino navy came to Bayonne. Evans went to see Harispe, doubtless to concert military measures with him.

Gomez had been attacked on the 8th and 9th in the mountains of Leon by Espartero, and had to retire.

The Cristino division at Castellote, under General Soria, had declared for the Constitution of 1812. When the *outs* in Spain cannot get what they want, or rather into power, they raise the flag of revolt—the Constitution of 1812, a capital standing political dish.

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## Letter XI.

"Bayonne, 15th August, 1836.

"The Constitution of 1812 has been declared by the Cristino troops of the centre, which will be followed by other bodies of the army; then a revolutionary chief may be elected, who will march upon Madrid and be received with open arms. The Queen will have to swear to the said Constitution, which being done, certain people of the Estatuto Real party will run away. Those who delay will be torn to pieces by the populace. What will England and France do? Some Carlists say they should retire, or sustain the Estatuto Real, and do their best to affiance Isabella to a son of Don Carlos. If Don Carlos will not agree, then consider him a common enemy, and drive him out of Spain. Still, so disorganised is the Cristino party,

that if Don Carlos's troops are in an efficient state, and if his councils are comparatively progressive, he has now another good chance."

P.S. by General Bellengero. "Ferdinand VII. compared Spain to a bottle of beer, and said: 'During my life it has been generally bottled up, but fermentation has been going on. At my death out will come the cork, pop and puff it will go. There will be a *froth of blood!*' His favourites, seeing he had no male child, observed, 'Are you not Rey *absoluto?* Who is to dispute your will?' His reply was, 'Bien, bien. Then the change of succession can be managed.' This view of the matter was the great hope of the Liberals; whereas Don Carlos king, at the head of the army, the Church, and the Absolutos, there was no chance for them. Don Carlos as Infante was all quietude and sanctity, with no energy or manly character, and placed his hopes, as he said, on divine right. Had it been believed that he would have been progressive, as Spain understands the question, he would have been made King on the death of his brother. What is his position? Hemmed in amongst the mountains, his troops tired out, injudicious advisers, shackled by fanaticism, and he has not the courage to break his bonds, put himself at the head of his followers, lose not a moment in joining Cabrera, and then on to Madrid and try his luck."

Deserters to the Carlists, 150 in number—English, Irish, Scotch, and others—came to Bayonne, on the way to their respective homes. The organisation of foreign deserters as Carlist corps was a complete failure.

The "Gazette de France" must have pleased the Carlists. An article was headed, "Progrès de la Revolution—Point de Transaction," comparing Don Carlos to an angel, the Cid, Pelayo, &c. I was informed that

about the only time Don Carlos had been seen in uniform and wearing a sword was when he went to the consecration of the flag to the Virgin, when she was made "Generalisima" of his armies. The above article wound up thus: "Don Carlos, ce sublime tuteur des Royautés en Europe." The "Constitutionnel" the next day observed, "Crucifié pour la Royauté."

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## Letter XII.

"Bayonne, August 16, 1836.

"Some of my letters have given you strange accounts of the state of the provinces—the disease. I will now attempt to suggest remedies.

"The first is money at any price. Recall those officers to activity who are persecuted by the 'Corte.' Don Carlos to put himself at the head of his army, with a staff of officers natives of all parts of Spain. Let Spain know by a solemn manifesto that his views are rational. Make a dash upon Madrid; for all is now in revolutionary confusion there as well as in many other cities. Should he fail, he will have acted like a man.

"Don Carlos has no representatives at the Legitimist Courts, or more political and material assistance would have been given.

"How many of the Queen's generals have had to throw up their commands or have been superseded, having failed in their plans. It is now almost too late in the season for the Cristinos to do anything of importance. The Carlists have got the crops in; the winter will soon be here. Let the Calomardes, and such like, give of the treasures they

have amassed to the Carlists. Let them act in unison, and if they fail, they will do so with honour. Thus I have stated what might be done, if but a gleam of reason would light upon Don Carlos. If he will not listen, then good Carlists say that the Great Powers should use every influence to get Isabella affianced to a son of Don Carlos; and if Spain will not have them as Carlos and Isabella, then the Infante must be satisfied by being King-Consort. Under any other plan a guerilla war may go on for a long time, unless England and France take the matter seriously in hand, and drive Don Carlos out of Spain."

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LETTER D.

"Bayonne, 16th August, 1836.

"A view of the war in favour of Carlos V. The wealth of the provinces, the position, the bravery of the people and love of their country, have facilitated at all epochs the means to sustain their 'Fueros.' At Napoleon's invasion in 1808, as if by magic, bands of guerillas, battalions, even brigades, arose against his armies, and were dreaded. This six years' war left in the provinces a number of persons who took up arms with more confidence in 1821 to oppose the Constitutional Government, and similar feelings caused the Carlist rising in 1833, which now, aided by some military men, despised at first by the Madrid Government, has become a most sanguinary war.

"Much that has been said for the last three years of men and things in the provinces is incorrect.

"The conduct of Carlos V., as Infante, heir to the throne, and Commander-in-Chief, was of poor account.

Why did he go to Portugal, and at so critical a moment, without leaving some plan or persons charged to act for him? Why did he refuse, a few days before he left, the pressing and loyal offers made by a great number of personages, chiefs and officers of the garrison of Madrid, with the object of preventing his leaving the capital? Many of these became seriously compromised.

"Ferdinand rallied from the attack he had at La Granja, but death was upon him; still Don Carlos would listen to no plans in his favour, and with his absence the nation became disorganised, and the miseries it is now suffering is the lamentable result.

"On the 4th October, 1833, Don Carlos, being at Santarem, in Portugal, heard of the death of Ferdinand. On the 5th he went to Marvão, on the frontier, not an appropriate point, to make known to the Spaniards that he came to be recognised as King. He had no troops, no funds, and the most vague ideas of operations; he certainly had the fatal counsels of three or four persons in his suite. On the 13th, I (General Bellengero) joined Don Carlos, and seeing the critical position in which he was placed, caused him to leave the next day in the direction of Almeida, a more convenient spot; but the King delayed at Castel Branco for twenty days.

"The Government of Cristina, now well aware of Don Carlos's position, and the little chance of his being able to get into Spain, took every means to obstruct his movements, so all he could do was to run about the Portuguese frontier. He took up his residence at Villareal, north of the Douro, and other places, and the Portuguese royalists looked upon his remaining in their country to be most unfavourable to Dom Miguel, which was confirmed by his capitulation at Evora and banishment from the

country. England afforded Don Carlos and his family its protection, conveying them from Lisbon in the 'Donegal' to Portsmouth.

"He was smuggled by a Frenchman through France to the provinces. Had he acted like an intelligent prince, his name would have been handed down with honour. It is to be feared that a spirit of revenge on his opponents is strong upon him. How different would have been his position had he seconded operations by his presence in the field, and had adopted good measures in his government."

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## Letter XIII.

"Bayonne, 16th August, 1836.

"Don Carlos's character was understood by the Juntas. He was hurried by them to swear under the tree of Guernica to protect the Fueros, which haste he did not admire. He should have reposed every confidence in Zumalacarregui, and he would have been loyally supported by his chief, and by the majority of the best officers in Spain. The Juntas commenced the war; but that of Navarre tried to be paramount, which the others resisted.

"Cruz-Mayor could not manage the Juntas. Erro had to truckle to them; and the abuses they committed are deeply rooted. I am assured that it may not be too late for success, if Don Carlos would throw himself into the arms of his army, although a great number of the best officers are in political disgrace with him and his saintly camarilla. Some of Don Carlos's most faithful followers,

chiefly officers, have, after long imprisonment, been sent out of the provinces. Still many remain, too loyal to rebel; they only await his commands to fly and serve him.

"If Don Carlos wishes to be saved he must have true men as advisers, and not ignorant hypocrites. He may be afraid of offending the Juntas, for they might request Louis Philippe to protect them, which would soon end the war in the provinces."

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LETTER E.

"Bayonne, 16th August, 1836.

"The intrigues of the regency at Burgos in 1823, the impolitic course of the Government when Ferdinand left Cadiz, his inconstant character, and the suspicions that men of one or the other faction put before him, prompted the King to have a new party—especially his own, his camarilla; and such Ministers as Calomarde, Ballesteros, Salazar, and Zambrano. Still, the King was at times much annoyed in governmental matters, and had to employ men whose real political views were for a Constitution; and so in a few years nearly the whole of the old royalist party were out of important offices.

"In 1827, some of his Ministers began to work more openly in favour of their liberal views; but the old royalists, the clergy, very many of the royal guard, and a great portion of the army they could not count on. The necessity they had of keeping their posts forced them to bend at times to the royalists, even to the favouring of Don Carlos.

"Ferdinand was taken very ill; and as the Government was silent for three days it was generally supposed the

King was dead. The old royalists, clergy, royal guard, and a numerous garrison, could now have proclaimed Don Carlos King, or insisted on his regency. Nothing was done, and it is believed by the wish of Don Carlos.

"Ferdinand rallied; his Ministers took courage, and decrees were hurriedly promulgated against the royalists. Don Carlos and his family were exiled, the 'Jura' to Isabella was got through, and there was a political amnesty. All this aided Isabella, and placed in the background the hopes of Don Carlos."

Zumalacarregui: General Bellengero informed me that the treatment he had met with for his unsullied loyalty to the Carlist cause, which had been doubted in high quarters, his being forced by Don Carlos to besiege Bilbao, the non-extraction of the ball at once, and the fever that had not been attended to, had killed him. He said, on being wounded, "Now they will rejoice at head-quarters." Zumalacarregui recommended Don Carlos, at least for a time, to take command of the army, to prevent rivalries, and that he should take Maroto as chief of his staff, and not Moreno, who was "inhuman and treacherous," of which the execution of Torrijos was an example. Moreno was soon displaced by Eguia, who shortly died. He was succeeded by Villareal (through the influence of the Cura Echeveria clique), who was a brave man; but Maroto should have had the command. Villareal soon fell out with the "Corte."

On the death of Zumalacarregui, by General Bellengero:—"Sad day! in which death deprived Spain of one who in more than a hundred combats exposed his life. The victim of envy, he is wept for by all who knew his valour, generosity, and his great cares. His enemies (in the 'Corte') rejoiced at his death, but one day they would

give their best blood to see him in life. Kings and princes mourn their loss. Thy wife and children weep for thee; a mantle of mourning covers the hearts of those who have seen thee in the hour of battle. The King, whose path thou opened to supreme power, will soon see it closed against him! Conqueror of Sola, Sarsfield, Valdez, Quesada, Rodil, Mina, having at their command mighty armies, and supported by England and France, here is thy epitaph: 'In memory of Zumalacarregui, general of Charles V., victim of ingratitude and envy, valiant captain, sagacious commander, always conqueror, only vanquished by death!' "

General Bellengero and others had heard that, independently of the wounds being the cause of his death, it was said that he was also poisoned. The general did not think there were grounds to credit this.

Mr. Burgess, in his journal, under date October 6, 1836, states: "It was reported that a court of inquiry had been formed, touching the death of Zumalacarregui. The apothecary was in prison, and the surgeon (Juan Cruz Boloque) was under arrest at Guevara. Manzanarez had given a poisonous receipt, but was shot for holding communication with the enemy." Under date October 19, Mr. Burgess was at Segama, when he saw the general's men and the priest: "The general was attended by Jelos, Don Carlos's surgeon. Bologni, Vicente Gonzales (another surgeon who had deserted from the Cristinos, and escaped back to them from Estella), and Tilledia of (?) Turin, whom he requested to attend him. They applied an ointment at first to the wound, which the first day produced suppuration; on the following day there was inflammation of the part, with much fever, which increased. The evening before he died he suffered considerably from pain in the

wound. At seven a.m. he had lost sensation of his left side. The surgeons applied caustics, &c. Vicente Gonzales requested not to be disturbed when they extracted the ball, he sleeping in an adjoining room."

Garcia had taken a Cristino courier coming from Madrid, so another was sent by Bilbao.

By a despatch from M. Rayneval, the French Minister in Madrid, Queen Cristina had been made, early on the morning of the 13th August, to swear at San Ildefonso to the Constitution of 1812, through a revolt got up by a Sergeant Higinio Garcia* the previous evening.

It now appeared certain that the Isturiz Ministry would fall. Sarsfield, Evans, and other generals wished to give up their commands; but there was Espinosa, Lopez Baños, Evaristo San Miguel, and many others, ready to join the Constitutional army.

Ideas: Will the ultras, now they have upset the Estatuto Real, call it illegal? They may even pretend to sympathise with the claims of Don Carlos, but they will not accept him as King. They may propose the marriage of one of his sons to Isabella, with a constitutional monarchy, which would not be very much

* Mendizabal refused to give Garcia a superior grade, although the Queen pressed it. Mendizabal told the Queen "it would be a fatal example to see a man a sergeant at night and a lieutenant-colonel in the morning . . . . My conscience would prevent me obeying your royal mandate. Let him be recompensed for his military services, and 6000 reals a year given him." Garcia met Mendizabal, and complained that he had not been rewarded, on account of his opposition, insulting him, when Mendizabal ordered him to be arrested, and brought to trial for his conduct to him as Minister. Garcia was sentenced to be transported to the Philippines. However, the Minister commuted his sentence to residence in some capital in which there were newspapers, where he might have the liberty of going publicly into the subject of his claims, which he did not. ("Mariana," iii., 394.)

objected to by the Continental Powers. If Don Carlos would not agree to this, they might declare Don Francesco de Paula "Rey Constitucional."

There were now at least three camarillas in the provinces, consequently little or no government. The first was that of the Bishop of Leon, the second of the Erro party, the third that of Don Carlos, each having their respective agents at Bayonne in particular. The state of the Carlist army was anything but satisfactory.

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LETTER XIV.

"Bayonne, 19th August, 1836.

"With such unheard-of commotion in the Cristino camp and Cabinet, the Carlists do but little. However, the Bishop of Leon and Erro are growling at each other, and Don Carlos has issued a decree, by which the property of all Spaniards who have emigrated will be confiscated if they do not return at once to Spain. He must be mad, and his advisers have taken to plundering.

"Don Carlos requires two Dones or gifts,—Don Dinero, money, and Don Jefe, commander-in-chief. He has been told that a miracle will place him soon in Madrid. His camarilla in particular cling to their victim, for they know when matters are at their worst they can run with him over the frontier into France.

"All is anxiety to see what England and France will do, and if the continental Powers can induce Don Carlos to allow his son to be the husband of Isabella. All but ultra-Carlists say any one, including the devil, but not Don Carlos, for King of Spain.

"At 8 p.m. a courier arrived from Madrid, when it

transpired that the Isturiz Ministry fell on the 14th, Calatrava taking his place, with Mendizabal to guide him, and Rodil superseding Quesada as Captain-General of Madrid. It is again 'Viva la Constitucion de 1812.' Cristina and her two daughters returned to Madrid on the 17th from La Granja.

"The Carlists say the Tory Wellington has allowed arms to be sent to Cristina, and Aberdeen has no liking for Don Carlos since the Durango decree was issued. The Whigs, with Palmerston as Foreign Minister, have come boldly out in favour of Isabella II., and dare the Northern Powers to meddle in the question. The Legitimist and Tory papers only echo what may please Don Carlos."

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LETTER F.

"Bayonne, 19th August, 1836.

"The great change for the worse the war has experienced since the death of Zumalacarregui, and the divergence of opinion as to the conduct of Carlos V. towards him, has caused me to look into the matter.

"On the arrival of the King, the Conde Villamur (a Frenchman) was President of the Junta of Navarre, and when named Minister of War had the audacity to criticise the operations, and to doubt the loyalty of Zumalacarregui, causing the King to have suspicions of his chief's future plans.

"Villamur did his best to prevent the King being near the fields of battle, causing him also to look with indifference at the plans and victories gained. In this

Cruz-Mayor and others co-operated. This grieved Zumalacarregui: he who never lost an occasion to come to blows with the enemy, nor to speak of the King with every respect.

"The great advantages obtained in April and May, 1835, made the King conceive the most flattering hopes, and even to believe that, after he had passed the Ebro, the assistance of Zumalacarregui would not be wanted; neither that of the force he commanded.

"The penury in which Don Carlos found himself, and the avarice of his counsellors, caused them to conceive the idea of investing Bilbao, which was insisted on by the King, notwithstanding the great opposition of Zumalacarregui, for it upset all his plans, which were to cross the Ebro in force, and march upon Burgos, without giving the enemy time to reorganise to oppose him.

"The investment of Bilbao was founded on the idea of obtaining by forced contributions some £200,000. The general plainly told the Corte that the garrison and people would hold out to the last extremity; then, he had not the sort of artillery to tell well upon the city. So sure did the Corte feel about taking Bilbao that they had nominated an intendente to collect the contributions, and a royal order was sent to Zumalacarregui to abstain from taking any part in that matter, for his Majesty had already arranged how and by whom it was to be done. This order was received after he had been wounded, and produced a 'grave alteration,' serious changes, and aggravated his situation; then the bad and lingering medical treatment by not extracting the ball at once produced delirium, and he died.

"On Don Carlos asking him how he was, after being wounded, the general replied, 'Well,' and that he hoped

soon to be able to continue his services. The King said, 'Yes, yes; why didst thou go so near the enemy?'"

On the 21st it was known that the French Ministers, Thiers, Passy, and Sauzet were for immediate intervention, but Louis Philippe held back. The death of M. Rayneval, the French Minister in Madrid, was announced; and there appeared no doubt that Quesada had been killed. The Cristinos wrote: "On leaving the capital he was discovered near to Hortaleza, where he was barbarously murdered and mutilated, in revenge for a valour and firmness worthy rather of admiration than vengeance."

New loan arrangements were initiated for Don Carlos by Franchessin and others, who had influence with the Bishop of Leon. It was stated that Marechela, president of the Junta of Navarre, and five others, had been imprisoned for appropriating for some time past the value of 12,000 rations.

There had lately been a grand fight for power between the Bishop of Leon and the Cura Echeveria, when the former had to give in.

On the 19th Ituralde, whilst manœuvring near Lodosa, was surprised by a Cristino column. He was stated to have lost in prisoners 400 men; the Cristinos report 900. Villamur had been sent from the Corte to examine into the matter.

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## Letter XV.

"Bayonne, August 25, 1836.

"Queen Cristina entered Madrid by the gate of Atorcha, and had to go nearly all round the city to please the National Guard. Isturiz and his party have decamped,

fearing the fate of St. Just, Donadia, and Quesada. The Cortes of the Estatuto Real is done for, and another is being arranged by Mendizabal. There is a talk of his going to England on financial matters. He left England when Spanish Stock was at 50; it is now 27. England and France look on, and say: 'Give Spain rope; we can when we like stop their bluster.' Thiers's friend, General Bugeaud, has arrived ere this in Paris from Africa. He may be sent with an army of intervention or active co-operation. The Infante Francisco de Paula and his bold wife, Luisa Carlota, look forward to having something to do with constitutional monarchy in Spain, and one of their sons becoming the husband of Isabella. Gomez is probably detailing to Don Carlos his adventures, and palliating his want of political success by handing over a few doubloons he has plundered during his maraudings. Basilio Garcia may be trying to join Cabrera; in time we shall hear of their operations. The Cura Echeveria (now Vicar-General) is too much for the Bishop of Leon, and Erro is an ally of the Cura's.

"The Bishop is accused of being the cause that money is not forthcoming from various loans he has been engaged in. It is not the fault exactly of the Bishop, for who will lend money to Don Carlos? Three days since the Bayonne Agency sent a new project of loan to Paris, signed, Yo el Rey; but those words have no value. Will you believe it?—the lower order of people here grin, and say, Don Carlos *est flambé*, or done for, and expect to see him soon in Bayonne. Ultra-Carlists say that he is on his way to Madrid!

"On the 25th it was known that the Royal Guard had done their best to release Cristina from the oath she had been forced to take at La Granja. There was fighting

between the 3rd Regiment and the Guards, when the latter were beaten. Cordova, not admiring the doings of the Constitutionalists, has given up his command, and will soon be in France. Espartero will succeed him. The Carlists say Cordova is to be Duque de Mendigorria and Conde de Arlaban! The first was only a skirmish, but Moreno had to retreat; at Arlaban Cordova led his men to be slaughtered. The 'Castellano' of the 20th August says: 'Let Cordova, Manso, and Montes come and give a true account of the uses they have made of the treasure and blood of a magnanimous nation.' Cordova has been driven out of Spain; but in time he will wriggle himself in again. Does he recollect, after his first political campaign, when Ferdinand VII. was induced to make him a brigadier, and sent him on a foreign mission, saying, 'Yes, yes, you are a brigadier, but do not put the uniform on until you are out of the country?' For his mission to Portugal against Don Carlos he had a higher grade. Then he got to the top of the tree from which he has tumbled.

"I dined at St. Esprit in the evening. There was a considerable party, principally of merchants of the Hebrew persuasion, of whom there are very many in this locality. They had been questioning couriers, who had come from Madrid, San Sebastian, Bordeaux, and Toulouse. All wanted peace if it would improve their trade. They talked about kings, queens, ministers, generals, and armies as if they were mere toys; adverting even to Wellington as a lucky boy; of Palmerston as a capital fellow, but he would give no assistance to those 'rebels' of the British Legion who had deserted to Don Carlos, and were passing through Bayonne by twenties to Calais—however, Louis Philippe ordered them to be supported and shoes given

them; of Queen Cristina as Madame Muñoz; of Don Carlos as a 'triste sacristan,' or miserable vestry clerk."

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LETTER G.

"Bayonne, August 28, 1836.

"The changes that have taken place in Madrid show the nullity of the Estatuto Real, and the bad faith of many of those who embraced it.

"The revolutionary position of Spain should facilitate friendly relations between the Northern Powers and England and France, bearing in mind the protection of Isabella and progressive legitimacy. Constitutionalism at present in Spain means sanguinary proceedings, and if not stopped, may soon spread to Portugal, Italy, France, and even to other parts of the Continent.

"I will say but little as to the rights of Don Carlos. There is no sympathy for him, and many who still defend him, do so as a point of honour. The only means left for the concentration of parties in Spain, and which would at once stop the shedding of so much blood, would be the Northern Powers taking the matter in hand, by doing their best to affiance a son of Don Carlos to Isabella, which should be proposed by England and France. England has no dynastic purpose to serve: her great motive is to have liberal principles preponderating in western Europe. Louis Philippe has great anxiety for a family alliance with Spain. Isabella has a younger sister; perhaps she might become the wife of one of his sons.

"Public ideas about Spain are very inexact; there being

such a number of parties and interests to serve. We Spaniards ourselves have great difficulty in getting reliable information, and are often deceived. If Spaniards of rank, and those about the Ministers and the Court, fail in getting at the real state of affairs, how can the Foreign Ministers, for they will learn but little from correspondence with the Government? Then each ambassador looks at things with the spectacles most in accordance with the interests of his Government. After slaughterings have taken place, the fact they can communicate, but they cannot get at any of the real springs of action.

"I now propose to you a good work. See at once the Foreign Ambassadors in London; give them again my views so often expressed. They can communicate with the English Cabinet. Then go to Paris, discuss the same with Foreign Ambassadors there, who can approach the French Cabinet, or rather, Louis Philippe. Then lose no time in visiting continental Courts, giving them the true state of the case. All parties must yield a little. The civil war in Spain should cease, and then continental legitimacy will have done a noble act for my suffering country."

The French intervention party, composed of Thiers, Passey, and Sauzet, had failed with Louis Philippe; but Lord John Hay received orders to assist Spain against the common enemy—viz., Don Carlos.

General Alava, the Spanish Minister in Paris, would not subscribe to the Constitution of 1812, and resigned. In the new Cortes, which met in Madrid on the 24th, there were 214 Deputies. By the 117th Article of the Constitution the oaths they subscribed to were as follow:—

"Do you swear fidelity to the legitimate Queen of Spain?

"Do you swear faithfully to act in the position the

nation has called you to, acting entirely for the good of the nation?

"If you act thus God will reward you, if not, you will be punished."

Queen Cristina had to issue a rather ultra-liberal manifesto, which would only be of value for the time being.

At the end of August the Cristinos had, according to their own account, 83,822 men in active service; absent and sick, 20,000; cavalry, 4,675.

On the 1st September I had an intimation from Baron de Haber to be prepared to join him in England. I arranged for a passage to London in the British schooner "Charles," taking advantage of the sea route, because I had rather a large quantity of documents relating to Carlist affairs, and had no wish to be arrested by going through France.

Letters from Catalonia stated that General Maroto made his public entry into the valley of the Cerdaña; El Muchacho met him with 4000 men.

Colonel Wylde was in Bayonne on the 8th. He told me that many of the Carlist soldiers were deserting to their homes. From another and reliable source I learnt that the sick and wounded in the hospitals were dying fast from bad treatment.

I was now confidentially informed that there was a conspiracy in the provinces against Don Carlos and his surroundings, but could not get any particulars. The French authorities intimated to General Bellengero to retire from the frontier. He was not assisting Don Carlos in any way; rather doing him harm.*

* In August, 1837, I heard that Bellengero had been living in France in great poverty; his wife had died of cholera in Madrid. His house there was confiscated. I afterwards learnt that, after Maroto's Convention of

On the 10th a manifesto arrived from the provinces without date, and signed "Yo el Rey." It was more like a rambling sermon of the Bishop of Leon than the political views of his royal master. The most important paragraph was as follows, stripped of much flowery pretension:—"The divine religion of our forefathers, our venerable and fundamental laws, Spanish customs, administration of justice with the moral interests of society, a rigorous economy with so many material elements that still remain, will re-establish in a few years the glory and lustre of this great nation, which desires not to dictate to others, neither to submit to their views." This manifesto was worse than nothing.

I had a parting dinner with my friend General Bellengero on the 11th. He came to the conclusion that Don Carlos had thrown away all his good chances.

General Cordova, who arrived in Bayonne on the 29th ult., and whom I occasionally saw, went to the Cristino caserne at Behobie, but was refused admittance. He received orders from Louis Philippe to locate himself at a distance from Paris.

On the 12th, without notifying to the police my departure, I started for London, arriving on the 25th, and joined Baron de Haber.

After Cabrera's action at Ulldecona,* in June, he con-

Vergara, he went to Madrid, then to Arragon, with a companion named Tarrancon; that he fell into the power of the Carlists, and, trying to escape, Bellengero was shot. Tarrancon got off, went to St. Petersburg, and joined Baron de los Valles there in the wine trade.

One of Bellengero's sayings from "Cinna," in allusion to his countrymen:—

"Romains contre Romains, parens contre parens,
Combattaient seulement pour le choix de tyrans."

* "Vida Militar de Cabrera," vol. ii.

tinued to harass the Cristinos. However, his enemy, Palarea, took a number of his men and shot them; in Jean, seven of Cabrera's officers were also shot. Evaristo San Miguel had no objection to an exchange of prisoners; however, it was not carried into effect. General Montes, with a division of the Cristino army of the centre, was sent against Cabrera, but made no impression on him. Cabrera laid siege to Gandesa on the 7th July, but two 4-pounders he had cast were useless. He returned to Cantavieja with booty, to repair arms, manufacture ammunition, and attend to his sick and wounded. Forcadell had not been fortunate in his incursions. Quilez, on the 25th July, lost 250 men at Albadia, and after hard fighting at Fortanete returned to Cantavieja. The dissensions in Madrid gave Cabrera time to prepare for future operations. His lieutenant, Llangostera, surprised General Buil at Alcublas, who left 414 dead on the field. Llangostera shot thirteen of his prisoners. Cabrera received the grade of mariscal de campo, or general, dated the 15th August, for the battle of Ulldecona; and it is more than probable that it was intimated to him to be in readiness to unite with Gomez and try their fortune on Madrid.

## CHAPTER XV.

Louis Philippe temporising; England firm to Isabella—Maroto leaves Catalonia—Calatrava and Mendizabal at head of affairs in Madrid—Literary and other celebrities—Tory and Liberal politics—Louis Napoleon's failure at Strasbourg—Carlists preparing to take Bilbao—Don Carlos requested to issue a reasonable manifesto; does not—Don Carlos's old hat cost De Haber £70,000—San Sebastian saved by the Legion—December, the Carlists fail to take Bilbao; a great loss for them; British assistance; Espartero "the Hero of Luchana;" Lord Ranelagh distinguishes himself; Don Sebastian replaces Villareal—Gomez's expedition; Cabrera joins it; enters and leaves Cordova—Flinter capitulates to Gomez at Almaden; Gomez gets to Algeciras; surprised by Alaix and routed; failure of the expedition; Cabrera desires to go on to Madrid; hearing that Cantavieja was besieged leaves Gomez; fall of Cantavieja; Cabrera surprised and wounded; escapes; subsequently joins his followers—Alleged Spanish Inquisition in London: the heroine, Doña Josefina Carillo de Albornoz y Arturo; the hero, Don Fernando Hurtado de Mendoza y Arjona.

At the end of September, Louis Philippe appeared to be thinking seriously about being neutral in Spanish affairs; but England kept steadily assisting Isabella.

Early in October, Lord Ranelagh joined the army of Don Carlos; Count Boos Waldeck had left for Prussia. General Maroto being unable to agree with the Catalonian Carlist chiefs, retired to France, and was ordered to reside at Cambray. Mr. Rowney, the correspondent of the "Morning Chronicle," was giving flattering accounts of Carlist doings; not so Mr. Mitchell, who was at Bayonne for the "Morning Herald."

Calatrava and Mendizabal working steadily in Madrid.

The Cristinos stated that from the commencement of

the war to October, 1836, the Carlists had lost 400,000 men in killed and prisoners!

A good friend to the Spanish Carlists, Charles X. of France, died in exile at Goritz, 6th October, at the age of seventy-nine.

I met at Baron de Haber's table, who lived at Marshall Thompson's hotel, Cavendish Square, several celebrities; among whom were John Gibson Lockhart, Mr. Barnes, Dr. Magin, James Russell (the Chancery barrister), Mr. Hodgkins (of the "Sun"), Mr. Stewart (of the "Courier"), Mr. Forrester, Alfred Crowquill (the amateur caricaturist), and Captains Mingaye, Glascock, and R. Otway.

Mr. Lockhart was a tall, gentlemanly man, sedate and thoughtful, at times approaching to melancholy. He could be roused when his Tory politics were opposed. Mr. Barnes, the "Thunderer" of the "Times," was pretty quiet until he had eaten his dinner; then would come his broadsides right and left. Dr. Magin was smart and lively, and at the end of a dinner rather uproarious; he was then connected with the "Evening Mail." In 1834 Magin wrote "A Story without a Tail," containing the following:—

"In politics we were harmonious. We were Tories to a man, and defied the Radicals of all classes, ranks, and conditions. We gave it as our opinion that Dom Miguel should be King of Portugal, and that Don Carlos, if he had the pluck of a most nameless insect, could ascend the throne of Spain."*

* No one was a greater adept in offensive scribbling than Dr. Magin, who was equally clever and unprincipled. He was notorious for depraved habits, and his pen seems to have been at the service of any one who had a grudge to gratify or a grievance to avenge. The Hon. G. Berkeley gave Fraser (of the "Magazine") a horsewhipping, and had a duel with Magin." —"Duncombe's Life," i., 144.

James Russell, the Chancery barrister, after a few glasses of wine, considered he ought to have long since been a vice-chancellor; Mr. Hodgkins had been a naval officer — a most matter-of-fact and awkward customer to discuss with; Captain Glascock, author of the "Naval Sketch Book" and other works, had been the British commanding officer in the "Douro" during the unsuccessful Miguelite siege of that city; Commander Otway had been in the "Douro" with Glascock—a kind-hearted man; Captain Wm. Mingaye, R.N., was a regular Tory, and when applied to by Don Carlos, had there been a Carlist fleet to command, would have been its admiral.

Old Toryism was nearly worn out, and the weak masked battery, "Conservatism," was not of much account.* The Whigs, Liberals, and Radicals pulled generally together, and if the Liberal Ministry had not large majorities, they were thick-skinned, and made the very best of their position. It was said of Lord Palmerston that he had Portugal and Spain in his hands, and Belgium in his pocket. Louis Philippe, although so vacillating, had to rely much on England. Russia, Austria, Holland, and Naples were on the grand snarl; but the fear of England and France kept these absolute Governments at bay, and prevented them coming out boldly for Dom Miguel or Don Carlos.

On November the 3rd, Baron de Haber, who was of the

* "The Metropolitan Conservative Association" wanted a capital of £100,000 to establish the "Sentinel," an evening paper, stating that their party had only one evening organ in opposition to the numerous Radical journals—the "Courier," "Globe," "Sun," "True Sun," and "Evening Chronicle." The "Sentinel" did not appear; the "Conservative" for a short time only.

Legitimate party, and did not admire Louis Philippe, received private intelligence of Prince Louis Napoleon's failure on the 30th October at Strasbourg. I went at once to Handfield Place, Uxbridge, to communicate this to the Prince's uncles, Joseph and Jerome (I think Lucien was then in England). On my arrival I found they had gone to London.*

The Carlists had been skirmishing before Bilbao under Eguia, and had lost in an engagement some 50 killed and 150 wounded. The winter had set in with severity; still Villareal and Espartero were preparing to come to close quarters. The former hoped to take Bilbao.

On the 8th Baron de Haber sent a report on Carlist affairs to the Legitimist Courts, as he understood them, requesting their views on the present crisis, and the form of manifesto Don Carlos should issue; for the cry of many Carlists was for foreign intervention and occupation. The said Courts sent their views, which went through De Haber to Don Carlos, who merely acknowledged the receipt of this important communication; so it could only be supposed nothing would be done in regard to the manifesto.

On reference to Mariana† will be found an interesting account of some Carlist matters by one of their own

* Prince Napoleon had correspondents in France—De Persigny, Lafayette, Carrell, Odillon Barrot, Vaudrez—and was eager to turn them to account. He made an attempt to create an insurrection at Strasbourg. With only a couple of officers and a few privates, he raised the cry of "Vive l'Empereur!" But the nation was not ready for such an appeal —assuredly the garrison was not—for he was taken prisoner, and, after a brief detention, shipped to America. ("Duncombe's Life," ii., 2.) He soon left America, taking up his residence in England, plotting against Louis Philippe.

† Vol. iii., 412.

party, Colonel Manuel Lassala, who observes at this juncture: "In the alarming state of politics at Madrid, it was natural to believe that Don Carlos would declare his sentiments, if only for comparative progress; he did nothing in this direction. He insisted that Spain should kiss the sword that threatened it from the provinces. Thinking Carlists began to know the man; still his troops, when before the enemy, only cared for fighting."

Extract of letter from the provinces: "Gomez has been harassed in his maraudings; neither he nor other leaders have the sympathy they had. Many old supporters of Don Carlos say openly that with common intelligence he ought to have been in Madrid ere this, but he is a Bourbon. Cristinos and Carlists will continue slaughtering one another for any length of time, without France and England step in and turn Don Carlos out. The Northern Powers have no opinion of him or his advisers; Russia, in particular, does not admire the Jesuit party, and says: 'All is chaos, anarchy, confusion, much ignorance, and they have very sanguinary passions in Spain.'"

Early in December Baron de Haber was applied to to assist some poor Carlists. He replied that Don Carlos had taken all from him, "except his honour and an old hat."

On Don Carlos's arrival at Portsmouth, in June, 1834, he had neither wardrobe nor money. The funds he then required were handed to him by the baron, who found himself by accident in possession of Don Carlos's worn-out hat, which was all he held for his large advance of over £70,000—rather a large sum for an old hat! When General Maroto went through Bayonne to Catalonia he observed to me, what has Don Carlos left De Haber? His honour and an old hat. He should have a new coat

of arms—a shield, with an old hat in the centre, the motto—"Gratitude of Carlos V. to Baron de Haber."

On the 13th December,* San Sebastian was gallantly saved from the Carlists by Colonel Arbuthnot and the Legion, without whom it must have fallen, for not a piece of artillery there was fit for service.

The Carlists write, that after hard fighting under Villareal, on the 23rd and 24th of December, and having put 8000 Cristinos *hors de combat*, Espartero's army, assisted by British marines and sailors, got into Bilbao. This was a terrible blow for the Carlists.

Captain R. Otway, R.N., who was there, informed me that the Carlists should have got into Bilbao and kept it. There had been famine in the city, and horse-flesh sold at a high price. Had it not been for the assistance and advice of Colonel Wylde in particular, Espartero would not have got into Bilbao.

According to Shaw, the Carlists not succeeding in their attack on the lines of San Sebastian, turned their attention to Bilbao, making themselves masters of all the ground and forts which command it. Bilbao, in a military point of view, was in the power of the Carlists for ten days; but they did not enter it. If Espartero, when he first came to its relief, had continued his attack on the right bank of the river, he must have forced Villareal to retreat. Having met with slight opposition, he again crossed to the left bank, for the purpose of leaving Bilbao to its fate. Luckily, Captain Lapidge and Colonel Wylde were at Espartero's right hand, and made him attempt a deed he never dreamt of. Espartero† had

* Ford. "Handbook of Spain."

† Mariana, iii., 396.

sworn to relieve Bilbao, but the besieged had given him up. On the 19th of December he took up positions on the Azua, and a battery played upon the fort of Luchana. On the 23rd an English colonel of artillery (probably Colonel Wylde) threw a bridge of boats over the Galindo, which obliged the Carlists to reinforce Banderas. Now that the Cristinos had got to the long-coveted left bank of the Azua, on the 24th the action became terrible. Oraa and Toledo went to Espartero, who was ill, telling him that if he did not go and animate the soldiers the day would be lost. Espartero went, harangued his men, and they made so impetuous a charge that the day was decided for Isabella. Espartero entered the city: he was called the "Hero of Luchana." Bilbao was placed by the side of Zaragoza and Numancia. The Cortes in Madrid got intensely excited, and decreed that all who had been concerned in the defence of Bilbao deserved the thanks of the country.

Here was untied the knot of that terrible drama, on which Spain—nay, the whole of Europe—had fixed its eyes. Some 8000 men were *hors de combat*; but all knew that this was the first and deepest wound Carlism had received.

The following appears as a note in Mariana: "Henceforward we can only refer to the various successes in Spain, with brief or no observations; the recent decree against the press prevents us making any remarks about the Government, royal personages, ministers, &c."

From Mr. Burgess's Journal: "December 24.—Villareal determined to attack the enemy, who had recrossed the river with a reinforcement of 4000 men. Goñi took the right, Guergué the centre, and Sanz the left; but owing to heavy falls of snow beating in their faces they had to desist. Sanz was wounded whilst protecting a gun,

the infantry having retreated. 4 p.m.—The enemy, taking advantage of the bad weather, drifted up the river in gun-boats, and succeeded in passing the bridge of Luchana without our knowledge, when they took possession of the strong-house about 5 p.m. Lord Ranelagh, with Captain FitzThomas, at the head of about forty Biscayans, charged the Cristinos at the point of the bayonet, and succeeded in driving them from the strong-house, which we should have taken possession of had not the Biscayan captain refused to let his men advance further.* Thus Bilbao was lost to the Carlists. Our 24-pounder commanding the bridge was withdrawn the day before for want of a parapet to protect the men on the flank from houses occupied by the enemy, and removed one furlong back in a direct line. 6 p.m.—The Cristinos, by a gap in the causeway, now ascended the mountain in single file, and turned Villareal's left, who was obliged to retreat at 5.30 a.m. on the 25th (Sunday) towards Gualdecano. The Cristinos entered Bilbao at 7 a.m. The battalions of Navarre and Guipuzcoa made four gallant bayonet charges, causing great slaughter. The Carlist loss was 260 killed and wounded; the Cristino, 1000. Most of our wounded in the Olbiaga hospital escaped, except about 80, who may have fallen prisoners. The Carlists succeeded in saving two mortars, two howitzers, and four pieces of cannon; the remainder—fifteen pieces of artillery—fell into the enemy's hands.

"The Carlist lines extended six to seven miles from San Domingo to Bandinas and Castrojona, and consisted of 22 battalions, out of which 10 were blockading Bilbao.

* From another source:—Lord Ranelagh distinguished himself in attacking a breach; also in a cavalry charge. Don Carlos gave him the Cross of San Ferdinand. He went to Rome shortly afterwards for Don Carlos.

The Cristinos had 30 battalions, the 1200 English from San Sebastian, and probably 200 Royal Marine Artillery. 29th. I (Burgess) was at Durango. There was snow three or four feet deep and ice. 30th. Don Sebastian left Durango to take command of the army from Villareal; Moreno to be chief of his staff.

"The Cristino prisoners were treated well, but the women pelted them with mud. There were 1000 Cristinos killed in the retreat from before Bilbao; the Carlists had 260 killed.

"When Zumalacarregui died, the Carlists had 30,000 infantry and upwards of 1000 cavalry and artillery. The line of the Ebro was but slightly fortified by the Cristinos, who had scarcely 7000 men, so completely had Zumalacarregui destroyed their various columns. They had now in Andalusia 25,000 men; on the Ebro three columns; and Espartero had 15,000 men in Bilbao."

Louis Philippe was shot at on the 30th December going to open the Chambers.

An agent of Baron de Haber's, Captain T——, R.N., on his way to Bayonne, was refused permission to proceed; but Lord William Russell, who was going in a similar capacity to the Cristinos, was allowed to go on.

Gomez made a sally from the provinces in June, his men being mostly Castilians and Andalucians. He hoped, if not to enter Madrid, at least to rouse the country in favour of Don Carlos, or at a later date to go with him in triumph to the capital.* Gomez† had been

* The expedition on Valencia and Madrid was planned long before, and agreed upon, in concert with Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Sardinia, the three former Powers not only furnishing the funds necessary to liquidate some old standing debts with the Jew contractors and furnishers at Bayonne, but advancing money to pay the troops, buy new clothing, and equip the army.—Farr.

† "Mariana," iii., 381.

chief of Zumalacarregui's staff; brave and cool in action, he was moderate in victory. He arrived on the 5th July at Oviedo, in Asturias; but Espartero, who had followed him with thirteen battalions, caused him, on the 8th, to make for Galicia. He passed in sight of Lugo, entering Santiago and Mondonedo, by which march he eluded Espartero, and then returned to Asturias. Gomez was now persuaded that Asturias and Galicia were not favourable to Don Carlos, so he pushed on to Leon, arriving there on the 1st August. Espartero came up with him at Tarua, causing him to enter Asturias in a disordered state; however, by the 11th he had got together his men at Canga de Onis, and a few days afterwards entered Palencia. In the beginning of September he routed the Cristino columns of Narciso Lopez, making him prisoner. So considerable was Gomez's baggage, wounded, sick, and prisoners, that he marched to Cantavieja to leave them. Here, uniting with the forces of Cabrera, Quilez, and Serrador, they appear to have hoped to have entered Madrid. Arriving at Villarobledo in the middle of September, they unexpectedly fell in with Espartero's division, which was under the orders of Alaix, Espartero being ill. The Carlists fought bravely; but in a charge, the colonel of hussars, Diego Leon, fell upon them with such vigour that they were routed, losing more than 1200 men, including 55 officers prisoners; over 1000 muskets were thrown away, and much ammunition and baggage was collected. The beaten Carlists went to Osa de Montiel, and did not recover themselves until they entered Cordova on the 30th, where they collected a rich booty. Thence they went to Ciudad Real, arriving at Almaden on the 24th October, obliging Flinter to capitulate; so Gomez once more meditated flattering plans. However,

Cabrera, either jealous of him, or displeased with his moderate system of war, now separated from him. Gomez had now to limit his operations, and, pushing into the mountains of Ronda at the end of November, he descended to the shores of Algeciras, after having run half over Spain. On arriving at Alcalá de los Gazules, he was surrounded by the divisions of Rivero, Alaix, and Narvaez, but had the good fortune to escape; but when he thought himself in safety, he was surprised by Alaix at Alcudete, losing nearly all his baggage and booty. This blow ruined the Carlist expedition; it was obliged to make the best of its way back to the Basque provinces. Marching rapidly over the great distance that still separated it from the Ebro, that river was passed by the bridge of Horadada, Gomez arriving at Orduña on the 20th December, with no very flattering accounts of his expedition for Don Carlos.

On the 11th September Cabrera* received a request to meet Gomez; Cabrera and his staff rode fifty leagues in twenty hours, arriving on the 12th at Utiel, south-east of Madrid, where he met him. Miralles and Quilez were already there. Gomez and Cabrera arranged for future plans of operations. Alaix was following the movements of the Carlists with 4500 men. On the 20th he came up with Gomez at Molinos, when Diego Leon did him some damage with his cavalry; however, the Carlists made 1274 prisoners, and took 2000 muskets. Gomez arrived at Bailen on the 27th. Cabrera advanced by Andujar. When he and Gomez entered Cordova there were only women in the balconies, and they cried, "Viva Carlos V!" The invaders took 2500 prisoners, 500 horses, 4000 English

* "Vida Militar de Cabrera," vol. iv.

muskets, ammunition, 600 head of cattle, and some money. They had a *Te Deum*, and the city was illuminated for eight nights. Gomez had now 8300 infantry and 2500 horse.

An offer was made by Gomez to exchange prisoners, which the Madrid Government would not listen to, trusting to embarrass Gomez with those he had taken. On the 5th October Cabrera sallied from Cordova, and attacked Escalante, taking 50 horses, 100 muskets, and many prisoners; the urbanos and free corps, 400 in number, were cut to pieces.

Rodil, Alaix, and Narvaez, with 20,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, were marching, counter-marching, and quarrelling with each other. Cabrera wished to attack Alaix; and if he had been beaten it would have thrown the other two into confusion, and Madrid might have been entered. It is not stated why this operation was not put into execution. Gomez, in all probability, was not sure of sufficient Carlist sympathy in the capital.

Strong Cristino columns were approaching Cordova when Gomez left on the 13th, marching towards the Sierra Morena and Hinojosa. The Cristinos entered Cordova. (To here is from the diary of an officer of Cabrera's staff.)

The Cristino account stated that 200 of their prisoners were taken and shot. Alaix, believing that the Cabildo ecclesiastics had facilitated the entry of Gomez into Cordova, fined them £4000.

Gomez was at Almaden on the 24th October, and not being able to guard his prisoners, liberated 200. In his fight with Flinter, and capitulation of the latter at Almaden, he took 600 prisoners. Rodil was now marching upon Gomez, when on the 26th he crossed the Gua-

darama at Talarubias. Many of Gomez's prisoners died of hunger, thirst and privations. On the 29th he was at Trujillo, where he got 300 recruits, arms, and booty. On the 31st he was at Caceres.

On the 2nd November Cabrera heard that Evaristo San Miguel was besieging his stronghold of Cantavieja, so he left Gomez on the 5th to go to its support. Cabrera went by Ciudad Real. On the 12th he was in the Calzada de Calatrava. At Bonilla the commander of the Carlist party of Jara had behaved improperly to a woman, and fearing punishment, tried to induce some volunteers to run away. At 2 a.m. he was made prisoner, tried, and at 6 a.m. shot. Here Cabrera heard of the fall of Cantavieja.

Fighting his way, he got to Tarrancon, a few miles south-east of Madrid, on the 21st. On the 1st December he was at Rincon del Soto, ten leagues from Logroño, on the Ebro, with only 900 infantry and 400 horse. The Cristino General, Iribarren, was in pursuit of him with 4000 men, when Cabrera lost in a skirmish 14 killed, and 100 of his men taken prisoners. He retired towards Arevalo, arriving so ill that he had to give up the command to Miralles. Here he was surprised by General Albuim in the night—"a fearful night for the Carlists." In breaking through a host of his enemies, Cabrera got a bayonet and a sword wound. His loss was 70 killed, 100 prisoners, and baggage. He was with difficulty got away wounded. His party by groups returned to Aragon. Cabrera and two or three of his followers disguished themselves at the house of the Cura of Almarzam, but did not join the remnant of his followers much before January at Aliaga.

During Cabrera's absence with Gomez, his lieutenants were not fortunate, which prepared the way for the fall

of Cantavieja, taken by San Miguel on the 31st October, when 200 of the defenders, attempting to escape, were killed by the besiegers.

## The Alleged Spanish Inquisition in London.

In November, 1836, dining with Baron de Haber at the Sablonière Hotel, Leicester Square, we were informed that a Spanish lady and gentleman had arrived from Cadiz, said to be Carlists. We paid them a visit. They told us they had applied as Carlists to Manuel Aznarez to procure Spanish passports for Paris, which he considered difficult to do. The baron promised to see if he could obtain what they wanted.

On the 1st December we dined with them. The doña said her name was Josefina Carillo de Albornoz y Arturo, a niece of the Duque de Alagon, formerly lady of honour to Queen Cristina, who had created her Condesa de Gracia Real; the gentleman, Fernando Hurtado de Mendoza y Arjona, was her cousin; that her father was a canon of Cordova; that, owing to a Carlist movement discovered in Madrid, in which she was implicated, for fear of Mendizabal she fled to Cadiz, when her father placed her under the care of Don Fernando, and they sailed for England. That residing in Paris she could easily communicate with the Carlists in the south of Spain, and hoped to procure funds for Don Carlos, especially from the clergy there. She also said she had written to the Duke of Wellington, who would see her on his return to town, as she was connected with the Santa Cruz family; indeed, she called the duke a relative.

On the 6th she gave a dinner party, to which the Brothers Aznarez, some other Spaniards, and the baron and myself went. She found the baron's views on Carlist politics were not those of Manuel Aznarez; the former suggesting a judicious system, the latter the absoluto; indeed, the discussion became rather warm, when the doña observed that the sanguinary war then going on could only be brought to a close by armed intervention.

On the 15th, in the evening, I called on the doña, and found her in an intense state of excitement, the cause of which she did not communicate. Later the baron came, when, after much solicitation, she said she had that afternoon been entrapped, brought before a Spanish Inquisition, her life had been threatened, and she believed the Aznarez were the authors of the outrage. The following day I went with her and her maid to the city, and in company with Mr. ——, she led the way to No. 11, Broad Street Buildings, the offices of a Jewish merchant named Jacobson, she asserting in the most positive manner that it was the house in which she had undergone an iniquitous trial.

We returned to the offices of Mr. ——, when I took the following deposition (in Spanish) from her:—

"Two Spanish friends called on me on Thursday, the 15th December, at 2 p.m., but I was out. I thought the visit might be of importance, so I left the hotel in a cab with my maid for the house of the Alviars, in Regent Street. On my arrival, and before the door was knocked at, a person presented himself, saying the ladies Alviar had gone to the city, giving the driver the direction where I should find them. On the opening of the door of the house in the city I went in, when it was closed. I was blindfolded and taken up stairs. On entering a room the

bandage was removed. I saw a long table, covered with black cloth. On it a crucifix, the Book of the Evangelists, twelve inkstands, and twelve lighted candles, having black and green shades. There were twelve persons sitting at the table. He who acted as president had a sort of priest's robe on. I was addressed as follows:—

"'Swear by thy faith in Christ, and by the King Carlos V. our lord, to alter thy wicked course of life. Thy infamous proceedings have caused the failure of a loan being negotiated. Swear by thy very existence not to meddle again in such matters. Sign this document, which states that thou hast been instigated by Baron de Haber, and that you will leave England at once. Look (at this they all rose) thou art about to sign thy sentence of death if you disobey.'

"They took my hands, putting them on the Books of the Evangelists, commanding me to swear. I replied:—

"'O, wicked Junta, the devil leads ye to commit crimes. Think not to terrify me; I will not swear. Are these the laws of a king said to be so just? Let me go.' They all replied, 'Never! Know, woman, from this day thou hast recorded sentence of death on thyself; once out of this country, thou shalt fall. That infamous foreigner, Baron de Haber, soon shall be another victim. Curses eternal be upon thee.'

"I was frantic; but addressed them, 'Look to it well. My life may be taken, but it will be revenged, even upon Don Carlos and his children. The avenging God is a witness to your crimes.'

"Two of the inquisitors rose to stab me, when the President said, 'It is not yet time.'

"My troubled looks glanced from one to the other. I confided in Him the image of whom was on the crucifix.

I thought I was dreaming; but to my sorrow all was an impious reality.

"Three hours were passed amidst these horrors. I said, 'I am getting weary and ill. Kill me, or let me go.' The secretary took hold of my hands, addressing me, 'Tremble! See thou revealest not what thou hast seen and heard. Thou shalt be ever watched by this holy tribunal of justice and religion.' I was about to reply, when they all cried out, 'Silence! Let the daughter of this, which is falsely called the Century of Illustration, die.' I was again blindfolded, taken down stairs; the bandage was removed from my eyes; I was thrust into the street, and the door closed. I saw No. 11 on the door. I now joined my maid, who had remained in the cab, and returned to the Sablonière Hotel.

(Signed) "JOSEFINA CARRILLO DE ALBORNOZ."

On reading my translation to Baron de Haber, to Mr. ——, and some others, it was supposed this inquisition scene had been got up by the Aznarez to frighten the doña out of the country; or that she was of unsound mind, or that the Aznarez and the doña were playing this trick off upon us.

On the 17th I went with the doña and her maid, Francisca Acosta (the daughter of Spanish parents residing in London), to the City, to Mr. ——. We repaired to No. 11, Broad Street Buildings, when they both most positively swore that it was the house of the Inquisition.

Mr. —— now communicated with Mr. Fox Maule, the Under Secretary of State, who desired to be furnished with the doña's statement.

The doña and the don removed to lodgings, 13, Princes Street, on the score of economy.

Sir F. Rowe, the magistrate at Bow Street, called on the doña. I acted as interpreter. The following day he took her depositions, through her maid. Sir F. Rowe thought there might be something in this case. I, however, told him it was most suspicious, and did not believe in the respectability of the parties. They now removed to 12, John Street, Oxford Street.

The doña wrote a letter to her father, 40, Calle San Miguel, Cadiz, which I sent under cover to the British Consul.*

On the 29th Baron de Haber received a letter from the doña, intimating that one of the inquisitors, for £20, would disclose the whole affair of the Inquisition, and would be with her at 8 p.m. We went, but no one came.

On January 3rd, 1837, Sir F. Rowe took the doña to the City to show him the house of the Inquisition. On the 4th he had her story published in the papers. The "Post" called it humbug; the "Times" observed that there did not seem to have been any inquiry who the heroine of the extraordinary narrative was. The "Herald" headed its account, "Alleged Spanish Inquisition in London."

Some of the Sunday papers observed that Daniel O'Connell must have had something to do with the matter.

On the 17th Sir F. Rowe requested me to translate to the doña her maid's deposition—the main points being that the doña composed anonymous letters and gave them to her to copy; that she went with the doña to the City on the 15th December, but that the doña was not in the house there the time she had stated; neither did she

* In due time, I heard that no such person could be found.

believe in the existence of the said Inquisition there. The doña hung her head, said nothing, and looked like a culprit. The papers next morning called the affair "The Spanish Inquisition Swindle."

The doña and don ran up a heavy bill at their lodgings, and, being unable to pay, were sent to Whitecross Street prison. In June they were brought before the Insolvent Debtors' Court, and condemned to five months imprisonment for contracting debts without reasonable expectation of paying. The don wrote us from prison, that all the doña's statements were false, and that he had been one of her victims (?). In September he tried to extort money from the baron, but did not succeed.

In 1850 I heard that she had become the wife of a rich Brazilian marquis. In 1860 Baron de Haber saw her in Baden; she studiously avoided him.

She was a short, stout woman, anything but good-looking; had a large face, small, sinister eyes, and a Roman nose. She insinuated, it appeared, that the Duke of Wellington was her father.

# CHAPTER XVI.

DEATH of Mina—Change of Carlist Ministry—Villareal retires; Gomez and others imprisoned—Palmerston has Spanish politics in his hands—Don Carlos deprived of the succession—Value of arms supplied by England to Isabella—Evans fails before Hernani—A congress suggested to settle Spanish affairs—Don Carlos gets funds from absoluto Governments—Hernani falls; Evans takes Irun: humanity of the Legion; inhumanity of the Carlists—Carlists prepare to go south—Evans goes to London—Marriages of Louis Philippe's children—Treaty between Spain and England—Politics unfavourable for Dom Miguel—Mendizabal Ministry fell through a military insurrection; Espartero at head of affairs; his friends soon displaced; his difficulties; insubordination of the Constitutional troops; Escalera, Sarsfield, and others assassinated—Louis Philippe wants Isabella II. for one of his sons—Why Don Carlos did not attack Madrid—Fate of Carlists left in Portugal in 1834—Don Carlos's expedition to Madrid; fights at Huesca, Barbastro, and Grá; Cabrera passes Don Carlos across the Ebro; Madrid approached; Don Carlos's indecision; beaten at Buñol; retires to Cantavieja; beats Buerens at Herrera; advances on Madrid; indecision again; Carlists beaten at Aranzaque; they retreat north—Cabrera's operations in 1837; badly wounded at Torreblanca; action and shootings at Buñol; shootings at Plá del Pou; Oraa, "the 5th Toro," sent against him; Cantavieja retaken; Cabrera joins Don Carlos; the Corte jealous of him; his desire to march at once on Madrid opposed; battle of Chiva; Don Carlos retreats to Cantavieja; Carlists gain battle at Herrera; get before the walls of Madrid—Inaction of Don Carlos; Cabrera frantic; fight at Aranzueque, Carlists fly north; Cabrera prepares to take Morella.

JANUARY, 1837.—General Mina died at Barcelona, after a severe illness, on the 24th of December, 1836. Mina* was the glorious personification of heroism in Spain in 1808. He wrote thus of himself: "I gave or sustained,

* Mariana, iii., 385.

without counting partial engagements, 143 battles. The generals I fought against were Dorsenne, Clausel, Abbé, Caffarelli, Soullier, Reille, Harispe, Laffourie, D'Armagnac, D'Agoult, La Corse, Beurgeats, Bison, Dufourg, Cassan, Pannietier, Barbot, Roquet, Paris, and many others. Although I had eighteen of these at one time against me in Navarre, I succeeded in thwarting them. I never suffered a surprise. I wrested from the enemy thirteen fortified places, and made more than 14,000 prisoners (exclusive of *los del tiempo*—those taken on the field to whom no quarter was given). My losses were 5000 men; those of the enemy, including prisoners, not less than 40,000."

After the Carlist failure before Bilbao, the people in the provinces and the army were much depressed. The Corte said there must be treason somewhere, and spread the report that the army contained Freemasons, and was becoming vicious. Many officers were imprisoned. Don Sebastian was now in command of the army, and his affable character had gained him many friends among the more moderate of the generals.

Mr. Stephens, the correspondent of the "Morning Post," then at the Carlist quarters, wrote to Mr. Mitchell, the Bayonne correspondent of the "Morning Herald," giving about the true account of the Cristino successes at Bilbao. His letter was intercepted by the Cristinos. It concluded: "Don Carlos's game is up." Still, he had over 35,000 men in the fastnesses of the provinces; but there were 70,000 watching them.

Under date Sunday, the 8th, Mr. Burgess, being at Estella, Don Carlos attended mass. Padre Gil, a Jesuit expelled from Madrid, observed in his sermon: "It was the want of faith in holy religion that as yet had prevented success." The standard was consecrated to the

Holy Virgin, and the command of the army given to her.

It was reported by a Cristino officer who had deserted to the Carlists that treachery had assisted to cause the defeat before Bilbao.

Erro had resigned his ministry, in consequence of a move made against him, consequent on the failure before Bilbao. The Bishop of Leon became Minister of Justice and President of the Council; and the Bayonne correspondent of the "Morning Herald" observed that Don Carlos was showing a leaning to progressive views, which was generally doubted.

Villareal went into retirement. There were those in the Corte who wished to send him prisoner to Guebara, as guilty of cowardice or treason.

Gomez was in disgrace. He had been too tolerant with his prisoners. He had not prepared the way for Don Carlos to enter Madrid. He was subjected to a court of inquiry. The fourth charge against him was that of having plundered the inhabitants of large sums of money, and not having brought the King any considerable part of said treasure. He was imprisoned.

Some foreigners who were in the service of Don Carlos were not well treated, and thought it best to leave; even Mr. Stephens considered it prudent to return to Bayonne.

Don Sebastian had had the command thrust upon him, and the Corte observed that the army was in a fine state of discipline, and he would soon march by Burgos to Madrid.

It seemed pretty clear that Lord Palmerston had the Spanish game in his own hands, and knew how he could play it well, although he had only a majority of nineteen in the Commons, the state of political parties being as

follows: Ministerial: English and Irish Radicals, 80; Liberals, 100; Whigs, 152;—total, 332. Opposition: Ultra-Tories, 100; Tories, 139; Conservatives, 80;—total, 319.

On the 15th the President of the Cortes signed the decree of expulsion from succession to the Spanish crown of Don Carlos and his descendents. It was signed by Queen Cristina on the 17th. In the discussion Cabellero proposed instant death to Don Carlos if taken prisoner.

In February there was a cessation of hostilities, apparently by mutual consent. Money was much wanted by both parties, and still considerable recruiting was going on.

The return to a motion for the value of arms, ammunition, and stores supplied to the Queen of Spain by the British Government was £539,383,* including £71,505 for the use of the British Legion.

There was a letter in the "Courier" of the 8th, reprobating in strong language the fact that six or seven Englishmen of the Legion had been taken prisoners and barbarously shot at Hernani. Baron de Haber wrote to Don Carlos, imploring that there should be no more reprisals; also to lose no time in issuing a pacificatory manifesto. No notice was taken of these communications.

In a discussion on the 10th in the House of Commons, on Lord Mahon's motion as to the policy of the Government in regard to Spain, and whether England were at peace or at war with Don Carlos, Lord Mahon observed that both parties should be left to themselves; and it had been stated in the Madrid papers that 313,129 Carlists

* This was only repaid, but without interest, in 1860. Lord Palmerston would not allow Spain to go to war with Morocco until this long-pending claim was settled.

had fallen (?), still leaving an army to fight. Sir R. Peel observed that the number of Carlists said to have been killed (313,129) was the same as the number of muskets supplied by the British Government to Queen Cristina in the Carlist "military revolt." Mr. Poulter declared Don Carlos to be at the head of a public nuisance. Mr. Grove Price defended Don Carlos. Lord Palmerston answered with one of his own peculiar broadsides in a general reply of nearly an hour. It was bold and raking, and the way he pounded into the "bloody Durango decree," and the late shooting of prisoners of war, was serious.

Sir R. Peel, alluding to the Durango decree, said he, for one, openly disavowed all participation and sympathy with Don Carlos, and that he did not see any one object of British policy which could be gained by the success of Don Carlos. What could the Tory party say in favour of Don Carlos? He had issued no manifesto whereby the world might have been made acquainted with his intentions, and so often had he been advised by great personages to meet Spain a little on Spain's present terms. Then the sanguinary Durango decree; the shooting of prisoners of war—some of them foreigners; the loss of Bilbao, and the very mediocre character, to say the least of it, of the persons surrounding him at that moment, threw a gloom over the supporters of legitimacy in and out of Spain.

On the 10th March Evans opened the campaign by taking the heights of Ametzagama, preparatory to his attack on Hernani, assisted by British marines and artillery; his loss, however, was great. On the 11th Sarsfield left Pamplona, encamping on the plains of Izurran. Espartero entered Durango on the same date,

making many Carlists prisoners. Lord John Hay was in readiness to attack Fuenterrabia, and Cristino artillery had left St. Jean de Luz (France) to attack the Carlists near the bridge of Behobie. This looked like real intervention on the part of England and France.

Evans failed in his attack on Hernani on the 16th, having to retire to San Sebastian with considerable loss. There was little or no quarter given on either side. Evans much blamed Espartero and Sarsfield for not coming to his assistance.

The Carlists wrote, that during Espartero's retrograde movement of the 20th, Don Sebastian caused him much loss; also that in the commencement of the campaign the Cristinos lost over 4000 men.*

On the 19th, after a three nights' debate, the Liberal Ministry obtained a majority of 36 against Sir H. Hardinge's amendment on the supply—not to renew the Order in Council of 10th June, 1835, granting to British subjects permission to enlist into the service of the Queen of Spain; also that the marine force should not be employed in the civil contest now going on in Spain, otherwise than in naval co-operation under the stipulations of the quadruple treaty. Mr. McLean suggested the meeting of a general congress to take up the Spanish question; but it met with no favour.

Ouvrard's last loan for Don Carlos was annulled on the

* During the affairs of March the official returns of cartridges taken out of store gave 1,042,000, of which 42,000 fell into the hands of the Carlists, who confessed a loss of 2000 during those days; so that in Spanish firing only one cartridge in five hundred draws blood—say one thousand wounded to a million cartridges, which gives a thousand cartridges fired for *one killed and wounded*. The cost of a million cartridges is about £16,000, or £50 worth of ammunition expended for each man of the enemy killed.

8th inst. On the same date appeared a decree for the issue of Carlist treasury bonds for £4,000,000 at 50 per cent., bearing a 5 per cent. interest. But who would take the said treasury bonds?

Russia was openly accused of providing considerable funds for Don Carlos. However, some came from Vienna, Turin, Rome, Naples, and other absoluto quarters.*

Lady Morgan has well observed, in her "O'Brians and O'Flaherties," where she calls attention to the position of Don Carlos: "By a bigoted attachment to inapplicable obstructions, and by bringing the principles of vast combinations to bear upon present occurrences, miss the occasion for effecting that practical good, which can never be obtained but by consulting the genius of the times, and acting under its influence."

Espartero† projected another attack on Hernani. He commenced at 4. a.m. of the 14th May, obliging the Carlists to retire to their lines of Hernani. Being followed up, they got to their last position at Urrieta, which they obstinately defended. However, the Cristino and English battalions drove them half way to Andoian. Hernani having fallen, Oyarzun was evacuated on the morning of the 16th. Irun fell by assault, after twenty hours' fire; and on the 18th Fuenterrabia capitulated.

Shaw writes: "About the 12th the Cristinos assembled 30,000 bayonets; the Carlists had 21,000. About the 13th Don Sebastian took from the lines the greater

* In opposition to the open and avowed quadruple alliance of England, France, Spain, and Portugal, it appeared there was a secret quadruple despotic alliance with Austria, Russia, and Prussia, undoubtedly to furnish money, and Sardinia to land engineer officers, ammunition, and stores, on the coast.—Farr.

† Mariana, iii., 402.

part of his force, wishing it to be understood that he intended to cross the Ebro and attack Madrid." Shaw and others considered this move a fatal one for the cause of Don Carlos. The Cristinos quietly took possession of Hernani. Evans invested Irun; the garrison made a desperate resistance, but lost it. Fuenterrabia, influenced by the generous treatment of the prisoners at Irun, surrendered, and the Legion returned to San Sebastian with upwards of 800 prisoners. Forty decorations were given by the Queen for the affairs of the 16th and 17th of May.

In the Carlist Governor Soroa's account of the Legion under Evans taking Irun, he extolled their humanity under circumstances when they expected all to have been put to the sword, considering the no-quarter system of his party, begging of Don Carlos "to command the generals of your royal army to treat with humanity the individuals of the Legion who may fall into their hands."*

After Evans's success he left Spain for Paris, when he had an interview with Louis Philippe. He then went to London, and was elected one of the M.P.'s for Westminster.

There were many Carlists in and out of Spain after the untoward events—the loss of Hernani, Irun, and Fuenterrabia—who were most anxious for a European congress to make some arrangements in the desperate state of affairs in Spain, so that the civil war might cease, although it was well known that Don Carlos himself was about to join Cabrera in Arragon, and try for Madrid. From what could be learned from good sources, the

* Later in the year the Carlists took the lines of Andoain, when they put 127 men and 13 officers of the British Legion to death, after they had capitulated.

Carlist partisans were not strong in the capital and large cities, and were well watched by the Liberals.

In 1832 Louis Philippe had got a daughter married to the King of the Belgians; but it took until the 30th May, 1837, to get a wife for the Duke of Orleans—the Princess Hélene, daughter of Prince Mecklenbourg-Schwérin, a general in the Russian service.*

June.—Don Carlos had been for some time preparing for his junction with Cabrera and his march on Madrid. As early as the 17th of May he was at Echauri, south-west of Pamplona; he also must have anticipated his inability to maintain much longer his lines before San Sebastian; also requiring as many followers as possible for his expedition. I will just note here that Don Carlos crossed the Arga on the 16th May, the day Hernani fell to the Cristinos. At Huesca he was fortunate. At Barbastro, the Cristinos confess that he obtained a "moral triumph." On the 12th June, at Grá, he was not successful. Surrounded on all sides by Cristinos, Cabrera managed to get Don Carlos across the Ebro on the 29th June. The Carlists said they had some 90,000 men under arms in various parts of Spain, which was considered to be overstated.

About the 14th July it was blazoned by Carlist agents that their king was now really on his way triumphantly to Madrid. However, on reference to dates, it appears that he had suffered serious reverses, and had to take refuge in Cantavieja.

* In 1848 the Duke of Nemours married into the Saxe-Coburg family. In 1843 Princess Clementine became the wife of another Saxe-Coburg. The same year Prince Joinville married a Brazilian princess. In 1844 the Duke of Aumale married a daughter of the Prince of Salerno; and in 1846 the Duke of Montpensier, after very much manœuvring, the sister of Queen Isabella II.

The Liberal Government of England signed a treaty of commerce with Spain at the end of the month, and might even be induced to recommend or guarantee a loan for Isabella II.

Louis Philippe was putting the screw on; but would he be able to keep up the pressure? His principal elements of discord were, "Henry the Fifthites, Republicans, *juste milieu*, Napoleonists, destructives, idlers, bankrupt financiers," &c.

An agent of Baron de Haber's returned from Lisbon, and although there was much disturbance among the Liberals, the political position for Dom Miguel was most unfavourable.

In August the Calatrava and Mendizabal Ministry was not on good terms with Cristina and a large portion of the army; so when Espartero came to Madrid to protect it from the Carlists, the officers of Van Halen's brigade got up the insurrection of Pozuelo de Aravaca against the Ministry, which had to resign on the 18th. Espartero was named Minister of War, but did not take office; Pita Pizarro, Finance; and San Miguel, Marine. These and the other Ministers were shortly replaced by those who were more agreeable to Cristina and her Court.

On the 24th August the Carlists beat Buerens at Herrera, and pushed on to Madrid, arriving near to it about the 12th September. All their plans failed, and Don Carlos retreated back to Navarre.

Finding that the Carlist treasury bonds were unsaleable, Manuel Aznarez got permission from Don Carlos to sign another project of loan. Money for the expedition Don Carlos was on had come from the Legitimist

Courts.* In September Espartero and his party had their hands full, in having to oppose Don Carlos; to pacify the Democrats, who wanted all sorts of changes, and to take the regency from Cristina; and punish the assassinations of his superior officers and others.

The Carlist, Uranga, took Peñacerrada, the lines of Andoain, and the forts of Peralta and Pendon; but lost the fight at Guetaria.

During Espartero's absence from the north, the Constitutional troops got into a dreadful state for want of pay, the inaction of some of the chiefs, the reverses suffered by others, and the toleration of insubordination. In Peñafiel some soldiers and a sergeant arranged to rob the more wealthy, and then desert to the Carlists. In Bilbao others refused to obey their officers; and in Hernani the Conde Mirasol and two officers barely escaped with their lives. General Escalera, who commanded during the absence of Espartero, perished by the hands of the provincial soldiers of Segovia. In Vitoria the governor and many officials were assassinated as enemies to constitutionalism. In Pamplona General Sarsfield and Colonel Mendevel were assassinated.

Espartero being at Miranda del Ebro on the 30th of October, shot ten of the Segovia provincials, and punished many others. He went to Pamplona on the 16th November and shot Colonel Iriarte, the chief of a conspiracy to proclaim the independence of Navarre; also the com-

* Prince Metternich had been humbugged by the Carlists out of his money, and had got Russia and Prussia, in connection with Austria, to advance each £40,000 for six months certain, the last month's payment of £120,000 being due the 1st September, 1837. Don Carlos's envoys had promised that with that money their master could arm, pay, and equip his troops in such a way as to be sure of entering Madrid.—Farr.

mandant, Barricat, of the 2nd battalion, and four sergeants.

At the end of the month it was stated that if Isabella could be affianced to one of Louis Philippe's sons, he would assist her with any number of troops; however, England stood in the way of the citizen King's Spanish matrimonial manœuvres.

In October all sorts of intrigues ran high at the Carlist quarters. Moreno, the old absoluto, was at the head of affairs. There was much discontent, and the soldiery said: "Our troops pursued the enemy to the very gates of Madrid. Why were we not led onwards and have finished this long war one way or the other?" A sort of excuse was offered for Don Carlos, that he wished to spare the bloodshed that must have taken place when resistance was offered.

After a long period of what the Carlist Corte called his being in disgrace, Don Carlos solicited Baron de Haber for his active co-operation; but the various financiers he had applied to had got matters into such discredit, that the baron saw but little hope of success on his part.

Moreno had to give up his command to Zariategui. Simon de la Torre and Villareal were under arrest at Estella. Cabañas, the War Minister, had resigned, but the Carlists were busily recruiting, preparatory to sending Don Sebastian and Garcia into Castile.

A memorial was forwarded to the British Government from the followers of Don Carlos left in Portugal in June, 1834—then consisting of 120 officers and 800 soldiers; at the present date only 82 officers and 220 were men in the prison of San Julian at Lisbon. Many had been assassinated by the Portuguese; others had died of disease

and want. They were afraid the Portuguese Government were about giving them up to be exchanged for Cristino prisoners, and said, if passed over to them, they would be butchered. Count Ludolf had brought this matter before Lord Palmerston, when he got for reply, "Rescind the Durango decree."

Early in December, Baron de los Valles, sent by Don Carlos, came to London, on his way to Vienna, to explain in the best way he could why Don Carlos did not attack Madrid; also to see if he could obtain more funds from the northern Courts. Don Carlos was trying to make peace among his superior officers, and to renovate his army.

At the end of the year, what was left of the British Auxiliary Legion was broken up.

Details of Don Carlos's expedition.—The Carlists* having lost all hope of taking Bilbao, the Corte arranged for operations in another direction. Don Carlos, Don Sebastian, and Moreno, chief of the staff, with 16 battalions, 10 squadrons of cavalry, 2 pieces of artillery, and a very numerous suite, marched on the Arga† on the 16th May, and by Lumbier towards Arragon. Irribarren came up with the Carlists on the 24th at Huesca, and brought on a sanguinary fight. He was mortally wounded, and died

* Mariana, "Hist. de Espana," vol. iii.

† The Corte said nearly all Spain was Carlist, and on a *boina*—the Basque flat cap—being seen, whole provinces would rise. Madrid was in fear and trembling from Carlists and Revolution. Cristina was packing up to be off, and that it was the military on either side who would not bring the war to an end. Neither Don Carlos nor Moreno had resolved upon the direction to be taken. At Arbazuza there was a council of generals, whose opinions were not taken, but those of the Canonigo Sanz and the Cura Echeveria.—Lassala.

next day. He was succeeded by Oraa.* The Carlists proceeded towards Barbastro, and it appeared as if they were retrograding, when they were attacked; but the Cristinos, who lost General Conrad, confess that their enemy had a "moral triumph." †

On the 12th June Baron de Meer found the Carlists in position, their right resting on Grá. The fight was one of great obstinacy. At 3 p.m. neither could claim a victory. However, Diego Leon, who commanded the left, made so impetuous a charge on the Carlist right, that he routed it. This success for the Queen's cause cost it a general, 3 chiefs, 54 officers, and 650 men. Don Carlos moved to Solsona and Manresa, and passed the Ebro at Cherta on the 29th. Here was Borso's brigade; but he was opposed by Cabrera, when there were sanguinary encounters, the Cristinos retreating to Tortosa.

The Carlists advanced, and Madrid was approached by a few battalions, which soon had to retire, obliging Don Carlos to move towards Valencia; but, finding himself unable to proceed—for Oraa was at Liria—he went to Burjosot.

On the 14th July, the Carlists being near Buñol, with 20 battalions and 12 squadrons, Oraa having 9000 infantry and 600 horse, there was a struggle from 8 a.m.

* An *aide-de-camp* of Colonel Wylde wrote that the Cristinos behaved with the greatest bravery; the conduct of the French Legion was above all praise; yet nothing could resist the courage of the Carlists.—Farr.

† The Carlists were surrounded by Oraa, and had to cut their way through his army. The Queen's troops fled; but the Algerine Legion, although shamefully deserted, fought with such desperation in the streets that their gallant commander, Conrad, was killed. The Legion was almost annihilated. Had the Queen's troops done their duty, Don Carlos might have been made prisoner. Oraa published a severe order of the day against his men.—Farr.

until 5 p.m. Each side lost some 1400 men; but Don Carlos had to retreat to Cantavieja.

A month afterwards fortune smiled on Don Carlos, and, being at Herrera, Buerens opposed him. On the 23rd August, through the imprudence of a captain, the action commenced before the appointed time, and the Carlist cavalry cut the Queen's troops up; 92 officers and 2600 men were killed, wounded, and made prisoners. Guns, ammunition, the military chest, &c., fell to the Carlists; but they lost two of Cabrera's notable lieutenants—Quilez and Manolin. The road now seemed open to Madrid for Don Carlos, who arrived before the capital on the 12th September. The Milicianos, the deputies, and the people in general were its defenders.* The defence might have been sanguinary, but it would have been successful. No defence, however, was required, for Espartero entered Madrid the day after the Carlists presented themselves, and they withdrew in the direction of Mondejar. Espartero followed them, and opportunely taking possession of the bridge of Aranzaque, separated Don Carlos's forces from those of Cabrera. Had it not been for the precipitation of Diego Leon, who prematurely ordered the "tocar a deguello" to sound the cutting up of the enemy, there would have been a bloody day's work.†

* There were 11,000 National Guards in Madrid. They hated the name of Don Carlos, the monks, the Inquisition. Farr was in Munich on the 27th July, and was told that Prince Metternich had just said there to a diplomatist, "That it was all up with the Queen's cause; that there was no army to oppose Don Carlos; that there was no obstacle; that nothing could prevent his entering Madrid, and he considered the question as settled in favour of Don Carlos."

† It having pleased Don Carlos to hear mass and write to the Princess of Beira just before he came to a plain of more than three leagues, the detention caused the loss of some hundreds of men, and led to his defeat at Aranzaque. On the expedition Don Carlos hearing mass daily caused

Cabrera, enraged at the want of action before Madrid, at the dispersion of the king's troops, and the intrigues carried on in the Corte, retired to Arragon.

It was decided that one portion of the retreating expedition should go, under the command of Don Sebastian, with Zariatigui, the other under Don Carlos. On the 5th of October Lorenzo was attacked at Retuerta by the Carlists, and was in danger; but Rivero, Aspiroz, and Espartero coming to his help, converted a retreat into a victory. In a few days Espartero came up with the Carlists, when the cavalry of Diego Leon did terrible work. The word treason was uttered in the Carlist camp, and it was necessary for Don Carlos at once to seek safety in the Basque provinces. Don Sebastian crossed the Ebro on the 19th and 20th. The troops in charge of Don Carlos took the direction of Soria; but being pressed by the enemy, got into Biscay by the valley of Mena.*

In Arragon and Valencia the war had assumed a formidable aspect. The Cristino defeat of Buñol, and the shooting of Plá del Pou, threw other encounters into the shade.

Oraa was sent with an army against Cabrera. On the 25th April Cabrera took Cantavieja. San Mateo had to

delay, by which he lost hundreds of men. When on the march a gentleman of the chamber had charge of a number of images, crucifixes, and relics, which, with two piles of breviaries, were placed on a table.—Lassala.

* This march to the gates of Madrid must have proved to everyone open to conviction that five-sixths of Spain are against acknowledging the claims and banner of Don Carlos, on which is written despotism and Inquisition. It is notorious, that at a moment of his greatest necessity Don Carlos was offered the assistance of Austria, which would have been followed by that of the other Powers, but upon the condition of his promising not to re-establish the Inquisition. He refused assistance with such conditions.—Farr.

surrender to Forcadell. The resistance exasperated Cabrera, who, on his arrival at the Cinca, bayonetted all the prisoners, whilst the Carlist troops were at mass in the Plaza.

Don Carlos crossed the Ebro. Cabrera followed the King with the greatest ardour, until he saw him retreat without having made an attack on Madrid. Cabrera then abandoned the expedition, cursing the mean intrigues of the Corte, and returned to his own field of operations.

Don Carlos's expedition was a failure. Still the operation of making raids continued, to ascertain how the country was really affected towards him. Garcia passed the Ebro below Logroño about the end of the year, with four or five battalions and some cavalry. He descended towards Cuenca, and was joined by Tallada, taking the route to Andalucia, and was reinforced by the cavalry of Palillos. Pardiñas and Sanz beat this party in detail, first attacking Tallada near Baeza, whose men were nearly all cut to pieces at Encenarejo. Those who saved themselves found Garcia in retreat; he had been attacked and routed at Torre de Pedro Gil. Those who were not cut up on the field by the cavalry had to surrender themselves—some 1500—prisoners.

Cabrera's operations in 1837.*—By the 20th January he was scouring the country with 2000 infantry and 200 cavalry, taking arms, horses, rations, and money.

In the action at Torreblanca against Borso, he was badly wounded. The fight was abandoned to carry Cabrera away. He arrived at La Cenia on the 23rd, where he had to remain.

Cabrera sent Llangostera and Forcadell towards

* "Vida Militar de Cabrera."

Castile. On the 17th February, being at Siete Aguas, they heard that a Cristino column, under Colonel Crehuet, was after them; now followed the severe action of Buñol, when Crehuet was taken prisoner and shot, with twenty-three officers. The Carlists say they killed 700, and took 321 prisoners. This action produced a great sensation in the country.

Cabrera, although his wounds were open, was impatient of action, and made a dash at his enemy near Alcanar, killing 200 and taking 54 prisoners. One of his officers, Serrador, attacked a detachment at Mirambel at daybreak on the 25th. He forced the church and houses occupied by the troops. The governor and others perished in the ruins. It surrendered at 11 a.m.; 119 taken prisoners. Two lieutenants were shot.

On the 29th March Cabrera surprised and took two battalions prisoners at Pla del Pou, when the officers and sergeants were shot. One account gives 30; another 42. This produced a fearful sensation of terror. Cabrera himself emphatically denies that these military executions were performed under any other than ordinary circumstances. There was no "sumptuous banquet," as the Cristinos reported, to celebrate these fearful doings. Forcadell got into Murcia on the 27th, and entered Orihuela. During his march 800 men had joined his force. He collected arms, clothing, horses and money.

General Oraa was sent to command the army of the centre, or, as Cabrera called him, the fifth Toro, into his bull-ring. Cabrera, who was besieging San Mateo, entrusted the retaking of Cantavieja to Cabañero. It was effected by a surprise on the 25th April, with 450 men, by an opening made in a house near the walls. 400

men, cannon, muskets, ammunition, and 400 prisoners fell to Cabañero.

In the siege of San Mateo, Cabrera lost 50 men; but took 700 muskets, ammunition, and 479 prisoners. On account of various recent Cristino excesses they were either bayonetted or shot.

In May Cabrera had various skirmishes with Oraa; but he found time to organise his government in Cantavieja; also to put his forces in order, and cast cannon and balls, and prepare ammunition, &c. He appeared before Gandesa for the fourth time, when Nogueras met and had a hard fight with him on the 30th May. Cabrera says the wine his men drank was poisoned; 50 died, and many were ill. This caused him to retire. He encountered a terrible storm near Hijar. His secretary, Caira, was killed, also two horses. Cabrera's horse threw him so violently that for a time it was thought he was dead.

On the 15th May Don Carlos and the royal expedition left Navarre, hoping to enter Madrid as conquerors. The Alava division was under Prudencio Sopelana, the Navarros under Pablo Sanz, the Castilian under Antonio Urbistondo, and the Arragonese under J. A. Cuevillas. The cavalry was under Delplan and Real, and the artillery under Gil de la Torre. The chief of the staff was V. G. Moreno.

Don Carlos advanced towards Valencia, pursued by the enemy. His army soon became short of provisions. There was much vacillation as to operations. Much was expected of Cabrera, who was in frequent communication with Don Carlos; and he got orders to be at the Ebro on the 29th, with launches to pass the expedition. He, however, had some serious skirmishes on the Ebro about

Cherta. Nogueras's head-quarters were at Tortosa; those of Borso at Mora. At daylight on the 29th Don Carlos was at Tivenys, on the Ebro, nearly in front of Cherta. (The Carlist victories of Huesca and Barbastro, and their defeats at Cinca and Guisona, had cost them one-third of their force.) When Cabrera joined Don Carlos he was received with every mark of affection.

On the 29th the expedition crossed the Ebro, and a *Te Deum* was sung at Cherta. Already many were jealous of Cabrera, and intrigued against him. Others remarked that he had opened the door of the kingdom for the king and saved the expedition. The Corte now said they ought to be in Madrid in fifteen days, but did not act, and called Cabrera an upstart courtier. Cabrera was for flying, if possible, to Madrid ere the Queen's generals could be there to defend it, which celerity, though absolutely necessary, did not suit the views of the Corte. On the 3rd July Don Carlos made Cabrera commandant-general of Arragon, Valencia, and Murcia. (He should have given him also the sole command of his army.)

The expedition, now consisting of 20,000 men, left San Mateo on the 4th July, directing its march to Cabanis and Villareal, Cabrera's troops being in the advance.

The English men-of-war "Barham" and "Harlequin," and a Spanish brig-of-war, were at Viñaroz, assisting the Cristinos. On the 15th the battle of Chiva took place, where Sanz was surprised. "Young Cabrera fought like a devil against the orders of old Moreno." Oraa says the Carlists lost 1000 men: he lost 400. There was much privation in both armies. Don Carlos retired to Cantavieja, entering that place on the 24th.

The expedition concentrated itself in Camarillas and its vicinity, in observation of Oraa, threatening his right

flank. On the 24th August Buerens was beaten by the Carlists at Herrera and Villar. He lost in prisoners 1500, and had 150 killed and wounded.

Espartero joined Oraa, when there was much marching and countermarching. Don Carlos, with the mass of his army, got to Tarrancon, and on the 12th September to Arganda, only four leagues from Madrid.* The next day 2500 Carlists came well in sight of the capital by Vallecas, when some skirmishing took place. They then retired. It appeared there was no alarm in Madrid, and it was generally considered that Don Carlos was disappointed, and did not see success within his grasp. There were 20,000 armed men in Madrid, and Espartero was rapidly marching to their help. Even now Cabrera was most anxious to attack the forces outside, but Moreno would not consent. Cabrera was frantic to see so much good time lost. Don Carlos remained inactive two days at Arganda. His Corte saw pretty clearly they would not get into Madrid. There was disunion in the Carlist camp, now divided into Absolutos and Moderados. When too late, Don Carlos requested Cabrera to take the command, which he refused to do. The order was issued to retire from Arganda, when there was fearful confusion; the Carlists getting to Chiloeches.

Cabrera entered Guadalajara, forcing the enemy into their forts, then returned to Don Carlos. Moreno sought to surprise some Cristinos at Alcalá, but Espartero's proximity prevented this. The Carlists countermarched upon Aranzueque. The Cristino cavalry, protected by artillery, gave a grand and decisive charge, which caused

* The despotic Powers advanced no less than £720,000 in six months, to enable Don Carlos to traverse Spain in almost every direction, and make his appearance at the very gates of Madrid.—Farr, p. 237.

the Carlists precipitately to retreat. They, however, held the bridge after a stern fight. At 8 p.m. both armies rested on the field. At 2 a.m. next morning the expedition retreated northwards to Navarre. Cabrera, with his followers, took the road to Cuenca. Sanz's column got into trouble, and to help him, Cabrera, who had delayed his march, was attacked by Amor, when the former lost 1200 men. For four days Cabrera's troops had only grapes to eat. He got to Gea on the 25th. He offered to exchange prisoners with Oraa, who refused. On the 27th he arrived at his stronghold of Cantavieja, taking prompt measures to reinforce his army. He entered Torrevilla, but Llangostera was wounded. He besieged Amposta, but had to retire. Cabanero made a surprise at Camarillas, and shot 75 of his prisoners.

Oraa now proposed to take Cantavieja. On the 26th October the action of Cati occurred with Nogueras, who lost 500 men, which frustrated the attack on Cantavieja. Cabrera now exerted himself to increase his forces, making excursions to secure provisions, horses, and money.

Truquet and Pujades, Cristino guerillas, attacked Chelva. They burnt the hospital, assassinated some of the sick, and others perished in the flames.

Cabrera now prepared for the occupation of Morella.

## CHAPTER XVII.

THE Princess of Beira married to Don Carlos by proxy—Diego Leon's cavalry achievements; made Conde de Belascoin—Cabrera takes Morella—Don Carlos stubborn to absoluto views—Garcia's expedition fails; his ally, Tallada, shot—Negri's expedition unfortunate—Cabanero fails on Zaragoza—The Muñagorri scheme—Narvaez's severities against Carlists—Don Carlos's position bad—Prince Louis Napoleon conspires against Louis Philippe—General Maroto returns to the provinces—A Carlist manifesto now or never—Maroto prepares to attack Espartero—Cabrera retires from Lucena—O'Donnell made a conde—Cabrera's celebrated defence of Morella; Don Carlos creates him Conde de Morella—Battle of Maella; Pardiñas, the Cristino commander, killed—Baron de Haber leaves London for the Continent—Padre Cirilio, Archbishop of Cuba, gets to head-quarters—Espartero and Maroto manœuvring their armies—Leon beats Maroto—I leave London for Paris—Don Carlos marries the Princess of Beira at Aspetia—Messrs. Borthwick and Fector, M.P.'s, go to Don Carlos—I join De Haber in Germany, and prepare to go to Rome on a mission to Dom Miguel—Details of military operations; Madrid politics; shootings and reprisals; Cabrera, ill and suffering from wounds, goes to Morella; Van Halen has 10,000 Carlist prisoners; Cabrera ready to exchange.

1838.—IN January Don Carlos sent one of his court as his proxy to marry the Princess of Beira, who was at Saltzburg.

The Carlists had slight successes in the provinces; some over Espartero; however, Diego Leon damaged them with his cavalry, for which he was made Conde de Belascoin.

Cabrera was again powerful; and on the 23rd the very important fortress of Morella fell to his lieutenant, Alió, Cabrera taking Benicarló.

In February parties connected with the Legitimist Courts tendered rather progressive views, through Baron de Haber, to Don Carlos, who replied in April, but it was little more than a bare acknowledgment.

Basilio Garcia's expedition left the provinces in February; very much was expected from it. He failed, and his ally, Tallada, was shot. The Conde Negri's expedition took place in March, which was almost annihilated by Iriarte and Espartero. On the 5th Cabanero, one of Cabrera's officers, made an unsuccessful dash at Zaragoza. In May an apparently neutral flag, with "Paz y Fueros," was hoisted in the provinces; but it was under the patronage of the Madrid Government, which paid its money and reaped no benefit. Narvaez, who commanded in the south, shot several Carlist chiefs.

At the end of May Don Carlos's position was looked upon as very shaky. There were intrigues in the Corte, to prevent the Archbishop of Cuba (Padre Cirilio. de la Alameda) proceeding there, but it was pretty certain he would, when some difficulties were anticipated. He had been a Councillor of State and general of the Franciscans, and in 1820 had professed rather progressive opinions.

Baron de Haber was residing in London. He received frequent visits from Prince Louis Napoleon and the Duke of Brunswick. The Prince was dead against Louis Philippe, the Duke assisting him in projects to annoy, or even upset, the King of the French.

In June General Maroto returned to the Basque provinces from France. He had many old scores to settle there. Those who knew him were persuaded he would astonish some of his old opponents in the Corte, who had persecuted him, his military and other friends.

On the 10th, Don Carlos being at Tolosa, named Maroto

Minister of War; the Bishop of Leon, Grace and Justice; Sierra, Foreign Affairs; Villareal, Commander-in-Chief; and Eguia, Captain-General of Navarre and Biscay.

It was again hoped that, Maroto being with Don Carlos, a judicious manifesto would be published—it was now or never that such a document should go forth to the world.

On the 19th there was a serious discussion in the House of Lords on Spanish affairs; but not favourable to Don Carlos; even the Duke of Wellington's observations were unpropitious, and he knew Spain well.

Espartero had been active, and taken the strong Carlist fortress of Peñacerrada, making many prisoners.

In July Maroto was reported to be preparing all disposable forces to attack Espartero; and may have had 25,000 men in the provinces.

Cabrera, who had appeared before Lucena several times, was beaten off by O'Donnell, who was made a conde for this operation.

In August occurred Cabrera's celebrated defence of Morella against Oraa, who was superseded by Van Halen. Don Carlos created Cabrera Conde de Morella, who on the 1st of October gained the battle of Maella, the Cristino commander, Pardiñas, being killed.

Baron de Haber left London for the Continent, to visit influential Legitimist personages. He feared there were very serious matters coming to a head at the Carlist head-quarters. The Archbishop of Cuba joined Don Carlos. Much was expected from his influence.

At the end of September many observed they did not understand the military moves of Espartero and Maroto; they did not look like fighting.

I left London for France, to keep Baron de Haber, who was in Germany, informed of what I could learn in Paris.

The Princess of Beira crossed the frontier on the 17th of October. Don Carlos married her at Aspetia on October 20th. She was forty-five years of age, he fifty. Added to the others, there would now be a lady camarilla.

Cristino papers observed: "The Princess could tell Don Carlos that the demands he had made upon the Northern Powers would not be acceded to, as she had lived in Austria so long." The bulletin of Morella (No. 186) said: "As the Princess and the Infante had joined the King, his triumph was now certain." The Bishop of Leon performed the ceremony as apostolical delegate. The Archbishop of Cuba, the Ministers, and other dignitaries were present. Their Majesties heard a *Te Deum;* after which there was a Court illumination, fireworks, music, serenades, and other manifestations of joy. The Princess was accompanied on her journey by the Abate Lamat, the Papal Legate to Don Carlos.

In November Messrs. Borthwick and Fector, M.P.'s, went to the Carlist head-quarters to see if Don Carlos would take good advice. The mission was not successful.

The war continued going on most barbarously in Arragon and Valencia. The Cristinos made severe reprisals, when Cabrera threatened with others.

The Cristinos state that, on the 3rd December, Diego Leon, with four squadrons of cavalry, attacked eight squadrons, at the head of which was Maroto, who had to retreat, losing a considerable number in killed and wounded.

I left Paris to join Baron de Haber, who was in Carlsruhe. I found he had powers from Dom Miguel to see what could be done for him, politically and otherwise. I prepared to go to Rome on a mission to Dom Miguel.

I will now refer in some detail to the military opera-

tions of 1838. On the 29th February* Basilio Garcia and Tallada reached the Gualdar, near Castril, and whilst constructing a bridge they were surprised by the Cristino General Pardiñas, who caused them great slaughter. Tallada fled, but was shortly afterwards made prisoner and shot, in revenge for his executing a captain and six officers at Iniesta.

Garcia now united with the Manchego partisans, and had 4000 infantry and 800 horse. He was attacked at Valdepeñas by Flinter on the 14th March, and had to retreat towards Almaden. Pardiñas now came on him, when he had to divide his forces and fly to the mountains. The Manchego party was fallen on by Pardiñas, when there was a short and bloody fight, Pardiñas making 600 prisoners. The remnant of Garcia's expedition, from which so much was expected, joined Palillos, when dissensions arose; they had to beg the protection of Pecos, and by his help got into Arragon.

Another expedition was sent, under the Conde Negri, which crossed the Ebro on the 12th March. He was followed by Latre, and after a severe fight at Vendejo, the Carlists had to give way. They appeared before Ezcaray on the 28th, but did no good. They went to Segovia, arriving on the 6th April, thence to Valladolid, trusting to form a junction with Zariatigui, but did not. At Mayorga they suffered much from the cavalry of Fermin Iriarte. Those who fled fell into the hands of Espartero —a day of extermination and confusion for the Carlists; among the prisoners were 224 officers.

In the beginning of January Espartero forced the Carlists from before Balmaceda, and beat them in the

* Mariana, iii.

defiles of Orrantia: still, the Carlists dislodged him from his position, and he lost 450 men.

In Navarre, Leon and his cavalry were not idle, and his brilliant attack on the bridge of Belascoin drove the Carlists from the Arga. He was created Conde de Belascoin. In May, Leon took the towns of Allo and Decastillo, but in a retreat suffered a good deal. On the 22nd Espartero took Peñacerrada, the Carlists losing 300 killed and 800 prisoners; also guns and baggage. At Puente la Reyna, Alaix fell into a Carlist ambuscade and lost 1000 men. On the 16th, the Cristinos attacked the fortresses of the Alavese Rioja; they lost a number of men, and were not successful.

In the middle of May a neutral flag, inscribed with "Paz y Fueros," appeared in the Basque provinces, hoisted by Muñagorri, a lawyer of Berostigui, who was supported by the Madrid Government. It was supposed that some of the discontented Carlists would have joined him. The only effect produced was a considerable loss to the Queen's treasury.

One of Cabrera's officers took Morella on the 23rd of January. Benicarló and Gandesa fell to Cabrera on the 3rd of March. Cabanero performed one of the most daring acts of the war on the 5th March, by his entry into Zaragoza, where there were some Carlists. He, however, failed; lost 200 killed, 300 wounded, and 700 prisoners. Suspicion fell on General Estellar that he had assisted the Carlists; he was shot by the populace.

Cabrera, at the head of thirteen battalions, appeared for the tenth time before Lucena, south of Morella. Borso and Amor, after hard fighting on the 20th and 21st March, made him fall back. On the 20th April Calanda fell to the Carlists. Cabrera besieged Alcaniz from the 3rd to the

6th of May. It was relieved by Oraa and San Miguel on the 7th. Van Halen was succeeded by Leopold O'Donnell, who went to the relief of Lucena in July, meeting Cabrera near Gonzalvo, and after a very hard struggle Cabrera had to retire. O'Donnell was made Conde de Lucena.

Oraa was ordered to take Morella. He had twenty-three battalions, 12 squadrons, and 25 pieces of artillery. Cabrera had 20,000 infantry, and 1500 horse. On the 14th August Oraa opened fire on the place. The next day a breach was made between the gate of San Miguel and that of Torre Redonda. Towards night the Cristinos went to the assault, but found the breach too high; and at the moment of assault the besieged fired a lot of combustible matter at the back of the breach, when the spot was like a furious volcano. On the 17th there was another assault. So great was the slaughter of the Cristinos, that they retired on the 19th to Alcaniz, with over 800 wounded. Don Carlos created Cabrera, the fisherman's son of Tortosa, Conde de Morella for his splendid defence. Cabrera was now master of the Maestrazgo; he marched to the very walls of Valencia, making most satisfactory incursions, for there was no one to oppose him.

On the 1st October Pardiñas, with a strong division, sallied from Maella. He was met by nine Carlist battalions and five squadrons. There was a terrible fight. Pardiñas fell: 1000 bodies were left on the field, and 3000 Cristinos fell into Cabrera's hands. He shot ninety-six sergeants of his prisoners. Alicant, Murcia, and other cities rose *en masse* at this fearful reprisal, and for a time the war was more that of wild beasts than men.

The Carlist prisoners in the city of Valencia expressed their joy at Cabrera's doings, and even insulted the troops;

on the 23rd October General Mendez Vigo (D. Friolan) tried to put down a popular commotion, when he was assassinated, and fourteen Carlist officers were shot. In Murcia three civilians (one a priest) and three officers, Cabrera's followers, were executed. In Alicante twenty-nine Carlist prisoners were shot.

Merino was master of the passes of the Douro, and having got together 2000 followers, he resolved to go to Arragon, whilst Balmaceda, who took charge of his positions, surprised Ontario del Pinar on the 12th May, taking 800 infantry and 70 horses. Merino, returning from Arragon, threw Valladolid into such consternation that the Captain-General abandoned the place. However, before he got back to the provinces, he met with disasters.

Flinter, on the 18th February, surprised the Carlist chief, Jara, at Yébene, who had 2000 infantry and 800 horse. Independently of those who fell on the field, Flinter took 40 officers and 300 prisoners. Other Carlist chiefs were successful, especially Orejita, who assaulted and took Mundela on the 28th April, Torremiliano and Vallilo on the 4th May, and Ciudad Real on the 28th, and sent expeditions even as far as Salamanca, imposing exactions, and recruiting in men and horses. However, Orejita was routed in the Calzada de Calatrava, and shortly afterwards assassinated by one of his own party, his head being sold for gold. The "inflexible" Narvaez shot the Carlist Serna, Bailando, and the brother of Palillos.* The Madrid Government did not accede to Narvaez's desire to raise the 40,000 men he said were for the reserves of Andalucia, which it conceived covered political views contrary to their

* Navarez, on his death-bed, was told by his confessor that he should forgive all his enemies. "Enemies!" he exclaimed, "I have none. I have shot them all."

politics; neither did his proposition meet the approval of Espartero: so the jealousy between the two generals was increased. On the 28th October Narvaez appeared before the capital in a hostile attitude. On the 3rd November there were vivas for the Constitution, and down with the Ministry. In Seville a junta placed Cordova and Narvaez at its head, and against a presumed dictatorship of Espartero. However, Cordova gave up his position and honours; Narvaez was banished to San Lucar, whence he escaped. There was a change of government, with Perez de Castro at its head; and Pita Pizarro had Finance.

In Catalonia the Carlists were not very successful. The Cristino General Carbo, on the 9th April, came to blows with his enemy at San Quirse, causing them very great loss. This maddened Tristany, who surprised the town of Monistrol de Montserrate, and put all to the sword who opposed him.

In December Baron de Meer attacked the people of Castillo de Viella, who had assassinated their governor; he caused them considerable loss in killed, and left more than 500 wounded, and did not spare the assassins of the governor.

Even distant Galicia felt the influence of Cabrera's prosperity. On the 2nd April the Carlist Guillade surprised and kept possession of Tuy for six hours, committing excesses; but in August he fell into the hands of a party of Monterey provincials, who slaughtered him.

Cabrera* commenced the siege of Falset, six leagues north-west of Tarragona, on the 11th January, 1838, but had to retire on the 14th before a large force sent

* "Vida Militar de Cabrera."

against him; he much lamented his want of cavalry. He however, made various incursions, and obtained horses, money, and stores. He sent Tallada to make incursions, who left Chelva about the middle of the month, with 2300 infantry, 280 horse, two 4-pounders, and two mortars. Tallada surprised Iniesta on the 11th February. The Cristinos state that a column of 250 men capitulated under Tallada's word of honour, when he shot the commander, José Zeffel, and six officers, on the bridge of Carrasco. The Carlists say, when it was supposed they were about to capitulate, they opened fire on Tallada, wounding his brother and two officers. They surrendered at discretion. The officers were shot.

Garcia's expedition left Navarre with five battalions, two squadrons, and one piece of artillery; it passed the Ebro near Logroño, uniting with Palillos, of La Mancha. They got to Calatayud on the 24th January, having Tallada in their vicinity, who agreed to unite and attack the province of Jean. Laureano, Sanz, and Pardiñas, came up with Tallada on the 5th February, near Baeza, and caused him a loss of 800 men. On the 27th February Pardiñas attacked Tallada, who lost 1000 men, artillery, and baggage. On the 6th March Tallada was made prisoner, and shot on the 13th at Chinchilla, in New Castile.

Morella, strong by nature and art, fifteen leagues from Tortosa, at this time contained 6000 inhabitants. The castle, on the summit of the mountain, was well defended and provisioned by the Cristinos. On the 25th January, it being a most tempestuous day, Alió, Garcia, and Vida, took most active and energetic measures for its capture. At ten p.m. Alió got his men together for the assault. It was victory or death, for they were to expect no quarter;

but if they took the place they were to be merciful, for it would be a day of great fame for them. On the 26th, at 2 a.m., operations commenced. At 4 a.m. the Carlists scaled the walls, and the noise they made caused the garrison to believe there were several battalions in the castle. The governor, Portillo, tried to drive the enemy out, but soon fled. At 6 a.m. the firing of guns announced that Morella was in the hands of the Carlists. Alió had 75 men, one of whom only was wounded. Eleven guns, ammunition, muskets, and many prisoners fell to the Carlists.

On the 27th February, after a three days' siege, Benicarló capitulated to Cabrera, with its garrison, eight pieces of artillery, 400 muskets, fourteen cannon, five iron guns, a brass culebrina, a 7-inch mortar, 3000 hand grenades, and eighteen waggons of ammunition.

On the 31st Cabrera madé his public entry into Morella; there were vivas for La Religion, El Rey, y Cabrera.

Don Carlos sent to Alió the Cross of San Fernando; Garcia was made colonel, and others were rewarded. The scaling ladders were placed in the church.

Whilst Cabrera was at Morella, a petition was despatched to him to take vengeance for fifteen Carlists who had been surprised and shot by one Boné. Among Boné's prisoners was his own father, who by especial favour was not shot. Cabrera wrote on the margin—"Bear this in mind when the opportunity occurs."

After a blockade of two years, and a fight with San Miguel, the Carlists entered Gandesa on the 4th March.

Cabrera wanted much to occupy Zaragoza, so he sent Cabanero and Lespinace, with 3000 infantry and 250 horse. The Cristinos wrote: "On the 5th March, after a severe fight in the streets, the Carlists lost 218 killed,

68 wounded (and took over 300 wounded away), 29 officers, and 703 prisoners." Zaragoza was now called the "Siempre heroica." The Carlists observe, they were surprised, and that many of the troops had not Cabanero's orders to move. The Cristino general, J. B. Estellar, was accused of treason by the people of Zaragoza, who shot him on the 27th.

Oraa entered into negociations with Cabrera for exchange of prisoners, addressing him as "Gefe superior de los enemigos." Some prisoners were exchanged, but many had died in the depôts of Benifasá and Beceita.

Lucena was to be besieged for the eleventh time. On April 15th Cabrera reviewed his troops, and on the 17th Forcadell commenced the siege. Oraa sent Amor to reinforce Borsa. There was hard fighting on the 21st and 23rd, one beating the other at intervals, when Oraa came to the help of Borso, and on the 5th May entered Lucena. Cabrera entrenched himself at Alcora.

Calanda surrendered to Cabrera on the 21st April, with 393 prisoners. He had to abandon Alcaniz on the approach of Oraa with a large force. The Carlist, Pedro Mars, had occupied Cañete; he was beaten out by Aspiroz, with considerable loss.

Cabrera had now to desist from his own operations to go and help the Conde de Negri, who was seking refuge in Arragon. He had left Navarre with nine battalions, three squadrons, and two pieces of artillery. (There had been the expeditions of Gomez, Zariatigui, Garcia, Moreno, and others, which system had been condemned by Zumalacarregui, and had already cost the Carlists twenty-two battalions, 500 officers, and 2,500 horse.) Cabrera met Negri, who had now only 150 men, at Calanda on the 6th May.

THE SIEGE OF MORELLA was considered the most important of the war. Oraa came before it with twenty-three battalions, twelve squadrons, and twenty-five pieces of artillery. Cabrera hoisted the black flag, with a white skull and cross bones; his garrison had four battalions, six companies, and seventeen guns. Negri and others were in charge of fourteen battalions and ten pieces of artillery.

Oraa gives his date of the siege from 24th July to 24th August. Cabrera his from 23rd July to 31st August.

Oraa, after continued fighting in the lines and bombarding the place, effected a breach, assaulted, but could not get into Morella, and was obliged to retire. There were two attacks—the second on the 17th August.

On the 18th Cabrera wrote to Don Carlos, that before he went in pursuit of his retreating enemy he would state that he had defended his positions for nineteen days of continual fighting and repelling assaults. 3000 shot from various batteries and 775 shells and grenades had been poured into Morella. At the moment of marching he had taken a piece of artillery, 300 muskets, and stores. 2000 Cristinos had been killed and wounded before the walls, and as many more in his lines. Cabrera says he had 20,000 infantry, over 2000 horse, and eighteen pieces of artillery. Cabrera begged of Don Carlos that a cross with a white and black riband should be given for the defence of Morella "to the army of Aragon, Valencia, and Murcia." The Carlists loss in killed and wounded was under 1000. Don Carlos wrote from Oñate, thanking the courageous Cabrera and his army for the wonderful defence they had made; and by decree of 31st August Cabrera became a lieutenant-general, and was created Conde de Morella. Five years before he commenced with

Cabrera Conde de Morella

some twenty men, armed mainly with staves. Oraa's unexpected defeat before Morella caused a ministerial crisis in Madrid. He said want of provisions and war material was the cause of the catastrophe, but was superseded by Van Halen. The Ofalia Ministry was replaced by that of the Duke of Frias, with Alaix as Minister of War.

On the 10th August the Cristino prisoners rose at Bellestar, five leagues from Morella, killing their guards; they took the road to Viñaroz. Ninety-two were caught, fifty of whom were shot. Reprisals now became terrible and frequent.

Cabrera, with 3000 infantry and 500 horse, gave battle to Pardiñas, who had 5000 infantry and 300 horse. Pardiñas promised to make Cabrera prisoner. Cabrera asserted Pardiñas would be killed. On the 1st October the sanguinary battle of Maella took place, Cabrera being attacked on his centre and flanks. At a most critical moment Cabrera was wounded in the left arm, but he made a desperate charge with fifteen of his escort. Pardiñas's left flank was routed, General Urbina was wounded, and 400 prisoners fell to the Carlists.

The Carlists' left wing, when retiring in disorder, was succoured by four companies of Tortosa. Cabrera came up, shouting, "What is this, cowards? You abandon me in the hour of victory, when we have 1000 prisoners? You see me fight with my bleeding arm!" "No, general, here we go! Viva Cabrera!" The combat became fierce and general; the Cristinos were dislodged from their positions and fled. Pardiñas, his staff, and some cavalry went to rally his retreating men. Pardiñas, maddened with rage, and surrounded by the enemy, defended himself awhile with a musket, and mortally wounded, fighting

with his sword, he was lanced through and through. He was buried with all honours.

The Carlists took 3115 prisoners, exclusive of 120 officers; more than 1000 Cristinos were killed; all their cavalry was slaughtered, as they had not given quarter at the commencement of the battle. Cabrera lost fifty-two men and five officers killed, and over 100 wounded.

It was supposed that Cabrera would march on Zaragoza; so under date 9th October, Santos San Miguel wrote him that he had imprisoned those of the population of the city who had Carlist tendencies, and would resort to severities. Cabrera replied on the 10th, promising reprisals. Van Halen was watching for Cabrera with 30,000 infantry and 1750 horse.

Sixteen days after the battle of Maella, the prisoners Cabrera took there conspired against him, when ninety-six sergeants were shot.

Cabrera's lieutenants had various skirmishes, and there were sad reprisals on either side.

A Cristino Junta of Reprisal was formed, and on the 1st November fifty-five were shot for Carlist doings at Villamalefa. Van Halen threatened to shoot ninety-six Carlist serjeants for those executed at Maella. Cabrera replied he would continue to resort to similar measures.

Cabrera ordered Forcadell, Llangostera, Arnau, Felin, Lacoba, and others to make incursions in various directions, whilst he marched on the Ebro. He entered Calatayud on the 16th November, the garrison and Cristinos part of the population retiring to the fortress. He scoured the country for booty, obtaining some money. He now went to Cantavieja to attend to the state of his health. Independently of a bad fever, the two wounds received at Torres Blanca opened, and he could scarcely sit his horse.

Cristino reprisals continued. Cabrera threatened war to the knife. Van Halen, who had 10,000 Carlist prisoners, said he would shoot them. Cabrera left Cantavieja for Morella, but was too ill to take the command. On the 28th December, Forcadell and Llangostera had got within five leagues of Madrid. They afterwards transported the booty they had collected to Morella.

The war had now continued five years, and the whole country was a scene of desolation. The hand of the soldier withered up the arm of the peasant; proprietor was only a name. The armies now mutually fought for food, and the delight of destruction. Count Torreno observed in the Cortes: "Once the soldier of a cultivated or barbarous nation is let loose, he is only guided by a wild and savage instinct. He destroys, commits havoc, levels without necessity or object."

On the 16th December Van Halen had sixty-six of the prisoners shot of those taken at Cheste; these had been promised quarter when taken by Borso. On the 19th Cabrera wrote to Van Halen, telling him he had long since proposed the exchange of prisoners. Van Halen replied on the 22nd, that if Cabrera would revoke his no-quarter system he was ready to hand over 103 prisoners alluded to and have a general exchange. Cabrera wrote from Morella, 29th December, telling Van Halen it was not true that he had declared war to the knife, but that he would only have to do with him on the field of battle. On the 19th December Narciso Lopez wrote to Cabrera from Valencia, telling him he had exchanged two of his officers, remarking that he could not understand why an exchange of prisoners could not be arranged. Cabrera replied on the 2nd January, 1839, that he was ready to enter into an arrangement.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

Author goes to Rome on a mission to Dom Miguel; his Minister, the Archbishop of Evora—Dom Miguel's observations on my despatches; his projected marriage; his bitterness against the Quadruple Alliance—Marshal Bourmont—Spanish priest and Calomarde—the Archbishop not sanguine about Dom Miguel's return to Portugal—Rome—Cardinal Mezzofanti — Maroto's shootings at Estella; the Archbishop's, Calomarde's, and the Spanish priest's observations—I dine with Calomarde—Maroto declared a traitor by Don Carlos, but he had to retract—Teijeiro, Don Carlos's Minister, flies to France—Cristino account of Carlist affairs—Dom Miguel robbed by brigands—Cabrera and Maroto's operations—Non-success of Dom Miguel's marriage; I leave for Germany—Don Carlos's difficulties increase; writes to the Duke of Wellington—Maroto's convention at Vergara with Espartero—Moreno assassinated—Don Carlos escapes to France—Louis Philippe intends Isabella II. for one of his sons—Reflections—Cabrera's actions at Alcora and Segura; Van Halen routed by Cabrera; O'Donnell succeeds Van Halen; Exchange of prisoners; attempts to assassinate Cabrera; O'Donnell's success at Lucena; Carlists successes at Chulilla and Carboneras; Cabrera's despair on hearing of the Convention of Vergara, but swears to continue the war; Espartero prepares to attack Cabrera; a Cristino spy and an assassin executed—Carlist and Cristino details of the Convention of Vergara—Memo. of General Maroto; his death—Cristino accounts of Cabrera—the Conde de España; his death by his own party—Madrid politics; Cristina and her camarilla rather despotic; Espartero has the army and Liberals with him.

1839.—In January I left Germany for London. Manuel Asnarez, Señores Merry, and Castillo, were trying to negociate Carlist treasury bonds at any price, but without success.

February, I proceeded on my mission to "H. M. F. M." Dom Miguel, who was in Rome, arriving there on the

9th, communicating with his Minister, the Archbishop of Evora. I learnt that Dom Miguel received at the rate of £2000 a year from the Papal coffers; also that some personages in and out of Portugal had placed funds at his disposal. I became for a time treasurer to Dom Miguel, having had cash sent me from Germany for him.

The Archbishop resided in a poor apartment at the end of a gloomy passage in the Convent of Sant' Andrea della Valle, and was not very luxuriously entertained. He told me he was very poor and unhappy.* He presented me to his royal master, then living at the Palazzo Capponi, when I delivered to Dom Miguel my despatches; he adverted to past times, when I last saw him in Portugal. I received commands to see him or the Archbishop whenever I deemed it necessary.

I requested Dom Miguel to give his views in regard to the despatches I had brought, and to forward his replies. Some of the points were: 1. As to his attempting his return to Portugal if ample means were put at his disposal. Dom Miguel told me there had been at times favourable moments for the attempt, but just now he could give no decided answer (See pp. 425 and 426 vol. i.); 2. That he must well consider about going to Germany and Russia; 3. As to the proposals of his

* The Archbishop was a good and learned man. He was appointed Minister of the Interior and Justice, whilst John VI. was in refuge on board the "Windsor Castle" (April, 1824). He was a monk of the Augustinian order, doctor and professor of theology at Coimbra. He promulgated a charter of law June 4th, 1824, commanding the three estates of the realm to assemble in Cortes. Various decrees followed: one was for amnesty for past political offences, opinions, and transgressions. He had little firmness or resolution, and was ruled by his more wily colleagues into being a passive member of the Cabinet of Pamplona and Co. See "Tablet," articles by A. R. Saraiva, 1865.

marriage with the German Princess of ——, they were flattering—she would communicate with me on the matter —and that I was to give his best thanks to Baron de Haber for procuring funds for him.

On the 17th Dom Miguel had a reception, among whom were some sixty of his followers in exile. He told me he had suffered very much before and since he left Portugal. He reverted in bitterness to the Quadruple Alliance of England, France, and the Governments of Isabella and Donna Maria, observing that it was impossible for him to oppose four Powers. The marriage with the Princess —— was smilingly touched upon. I heard from the Archbishop that Dom Miguel had been affianced to a daughter of the Duke of Modena; but after his forced abdication of the crown of Portugal, the Duke withdrew his permission.

Dom Miguel passed much of his time in the country, where he could have hunting and shooting, of which he was very fond.

I occasionally saw Marshal Bourmont, one of Dom Miguel's late commanders in Portugal, but who was unsuccessful, particularly in his attack on Oporto on the 25th July, 1833. (See p. 307, vol. i.)

I fell in with a Spanish priest who had been a very active Carlist partisan in the Basque provinces. He told me he had just come from Señor Calomarde, and had bullied him to his face, telling him he had been the main cause of the civil war then raging in Spain, by allowing Ferdinand VII. to alter the law of succession.

The Archbishop of Evora called on me on the 27th. We had a very long talk on Portuguese affairs in general, and those of Dom Miguel in particular, and did not think "the King's" chance of returning to Portugal just

now very probable. He concluded with "paciencia y esperanza!"

On returning the Archbishop's visit, he informed me he had just received information that the affairs of Don Carlos looked favourable, and those of Dom Miguel gave some hopes. I replied I was not at all convinced on these points, which made him look serious.

I lost no time in visiting the wonderful monuments of Ancient and Modern Rome, with Gibbon's "Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire" and Artaria's "Guide en Italie" as my principal guides; and I came to the unsatisfactory conclusion, in sight of what I beheld, that, with so vast an expenditure of blood and treasure, so little had been done in the cause of humanity.

I accompanied Dom Miguel to the Sistine Chapel on March 3rd, and was introduced to the great polyglot, Cardinal Mezzofanti, in the Sala Regia. He was a little man, rather bent from long poring over books and manuscripts, of most placid and beaming countenance, and very large eyes; his thoughts seemed to be much more fixed on his linguistic studies than on the glittering scene in which he was. I spoke to him in English and Spanish, and when he knew I had been in Peru and Chile, he asked me about the Quichua, Aymará, and Araucano languages.*

Letters on the 5th from Spain stated there was a serious

* Joseph Caspar Mezzofanti was the son of a carpenter. At the age of twenty-two he became Professor of Arabic at Bologna, already master of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Spanish, German, and Swedish. In 1831 he went to Rome, and was keeper of the Vatican Library. In 1833 created cardinal. Although the greatest linguist that ever lived, he left no works, philological or otherwise. He expressed himself, it is said, in fifty-six languages, and was acquainted with sixty-four others. He was born at Bologna in 1774, and died at Rome in 1849.

talk in Madrid of affiancing the eldest son of Don Carlos to Isabella, as all parties were heartily tired of the war. This affiancing did not seem very probable to me.

On the 6th astounding information arrived that Maroto had had his sanguinary *coup* at Estella. He had discovered a conspiracy, at the head of which was Arias Teijeiro, Don Carlos's Minister, against himself, his officers, and friends. Certain parties were arrested by Maroto and brought to court-martial; of these there were condemned, Generals Garcia, Guergué, and Sans; Ibanez, Secretary of War; Brigadier Carmona, and the Intendente Uriz. They were shot on the 19th February.

I was sent for in haste by the Archbishop of Evora, who demanded of me repeatedly if I believed Maroto had shot the persons mentioned. I told him I did. On leaving him I met Señor Calomarde, who was in a great state of agitation at Maroto's doings. He asked me to walk with him to his house and talk on Carlist affairs. My views as to what would still happen were not at all satisfactory to Ferdinand VII.'s wily old Minister of Grace and Justice.

I again encountered the Spanish priest already alluded to. He told me to be prepared for much more serious doings against Don Carlos. I asked, "Will he be shot? Will he escape into France?" The priest replied: God only knows, but that when it suited Maroto and Padre Cirilio, they would sell Don Carlos to the Cristinos.

In a long conference on the 12th with the Archbishop, he observed that Don Carlos, seeing what Maroto had done, should at once make Cabrera his commander-in-chief. I observed that Don Carlos might do so; but could Cabrera leave his important command in Arragon, or

would the Marotistas obey Cabrera? "Ay Dios mio!" ejaculated the Archbishop.

I dined with Señor Calomarde on the 13th. He whispered to me that what Maroto had done was perhaps politic as he viewed the Carlist question; but it was a most daring and sanguinary act, the shooting of the six "Estremados," the partisans of Teijeiro; still, had he not done so, they would have made short work with him and his friends. Those at the dinner were horrified at Maroto's proceedings, and asked my opinion. I said I believed things would be much worse ere they were better, and observed that Don Carlos had failed to meet Spain even a little on Spain's terms—that he had few friends, and very many enemies.

Letters received on the 14th from the Carlist headquarters reported that Maroto had been declared a traitor by Don Carlos and his Minister, Teijeiro, and that Maroto had issued a proclamation justifying his conduct. Shortly came other letters that Don Carlos had retracted, and restored Maroto and all his friends to his confidence; also it was in serious contemplation for Maroto to join Cabrera and make another push on Madrid.

The "Gazette de France" looked upon the deplorable doings in the provinces as having been brought about by the mad ambition of Teijeiro, who had made himself absolute ruler; that he had just escaped into France with the Cura Echeveria and others, or they would have been shot by the Marotistas; that Maroto was now all powerful in the army, and his friend, Padre Cirilio, now Prime Minister, had always been a staunch but judicious friend of Don Carlos, and had opposed the fourth marriage of Ferdinand VII. with a young princess, for even in the event of her having a son, there would have been a long

and dangerous minority, and if a daughter, the Liberals would do their utmost to place her on the throne instead of Don Carlos, which would give rise to a bloody civil war; and Padre Cirilio was right.

I now refer to the Cristino account of Maroto's doings.* Don Carlos, after Maroto's *coup*, decided on flight to some fortified place. Teijeiro was the only one who was firm, and under date 21st February caused Don Carlos to sign a decree declaring Maroto a traitor. The command of the army was given to Villareal, who went to the camp, but was not received. Maroto, at Iruzun, told his officers and men they might act as best suited them. The officers assured him of the obedience of the troops, and the cry was, "To the royal head-quarters." Maroto marched, and near to Toloso encountered Urbistondo, who had been sent against him. After explanations he sided with Maroto, who entered Tolosa in triumph. This scattered Teijeiro's hopes, when he and some of his party fled. There was published on the 24th a decree by Don Carlos, declaring Maroto to be a good and faithful servant. Still he mumbled in a corner of the room the well-known words under such circumstances, "I am forced to do so."

A new Ministry was now formed. Elio, Zariatigui, Gomez, and others were released from prison, and the progressive Carlist party, that had been so much persecuted by the "Estremados," was now in power, but looked upon with the greatest suspicion by Don Carlos.

Return we to Rome: Palm Sunday, March 24th. His Holiness Pope Gregory XVI. blessed the palm branches in St. Peter's, when there was a great assemblage of the faithful and others. On Easter Sunday, his Holiness said mass in St. Peter's; at night the exterior of this mighty

* Mariana, iii., 424.

temple was illuminated—a wonderful sight; and the display of fireworks from the Castle of St. Angelo was something to behold.

Cabrera was said to be very powerful in Arragon, and ultra-Legitimists talked loudly of his getting to Madrid before Don Carlos.

I dined with a party of Carlists and Miguelites at Señor Calomarde's, on the 10th, amongst whom was Senhor Da Cruz, ex-Portuguese consul at Bayonne. He had just come with despatches from Don Carlos to Dom Miguel. He observed, if Maroto was not successful at once against Espartero, he would run a great risk of being shot. My impression was that his life was quite safe; except from hired assassins.

The same day, whilst Dom Miguel was on his way to Albano, he was stopped by masked brigands, and robbed of some forty scudi, his watch, and gun. The Archbishop of Evora was almost frightened to death, and read H. M. F. Majesty a long lecture for not going better protected. His Holiness gave orders to scour the country, and bring the brigands to justice.

Dom Miguel had made an appointment to meet the Archbishop and myself on the 14th at 8 p.m., at the Convent of Sant' Andrea della Valle. We waited until 10 p.m. No Dom Miguel came; on which the Archbishop showed temper, and intimated that he would abandon him.

I took letters, received on the 18th from Germany, to the Archbishop on the subject of the marriage, which put him into good humour. We went at once to Dom Miguel, who was much pleased with the matrimonial propositions, and thought it probable I might have to accompany him to Germany on the momentous matter.

On the 25th the Archbishop handed me Dom Miguel's

miniature to send to Germany, and full powers for Baron de Haber to act in his name.

Teijeiro, Echeveria, and many of their friends were in Bayonne, writing and conspiring against Maroto, and the then Minister of Don Carlos.

By letters received on the 23rd May, the matrimonial arrangements for Dom Miguel did not progress satisfactorily; the reasons I did not learn.

On the 26th, Rome was in its glory; five saints were canonized; the ceremony was imposing.

At the end of the month it was stated that Cabrera was fast approaching Madrid, and that the Carlist party in the capital would be able to assist his entry; which I did not believe; that Maroto was manœuvring to keep Espartero and his army watching him in the provinces, so as to facilitate Cabrera's operations.

On June 3rd I received letters from Germany to be in readiness to return. The non-success of the projected marriage of Don Miguel made the Archbishop very bad tempered. On the 7th I had to go into said matter with Dom Miguel, and assured him that the refusal did not come from the lady.* As this was my last visit, I was enjoined to present Dom Miguel's most respectful homage to the Royal family of Baden; also his best thanks to Baron de Haber for his unremitting services in his behalf. Dom Miguel warmly expressed his thanks to me, and shook hands at parting. I called on the Archbishop of Evora for his despatches for Germany, and left Rome the next day for Carlsruhe, where I found Baron de Haber.

In the beginning of August the Baron received positive

* I think it was the Princess Louise of Arenberg, born in 1820. Dom Miguel married in 1851 the Princess Sophie of Lœwenstein, born 1831.

information that Don Carlos was almost Maroto's prisoner at Oñate, and that a crisis was at hand.

On the 5th it was known that Maroto had been to see Lord John Hay; it was reported to be about an exchange of prisoners. We, however, thought differently, and considered it more likely that arrangements were in progress for Don Carlos's departure from Spain.

I went to London, arriving on the 25th, and met Señor Merry, who had been sent by Don Carlos in search of funds; and he wished to have the co-operation of Baron de Haber. On the 28th Señor Merry went to Dover, with letters from Don Carlos to the Duke of Wellington.

On September 3rd it was announced in London that the great blow had been given to Don Carlos's hopes by Maroto, who had come to an arrangement with Espartero on the 31st August at Vergara. The Carlists in London would not believe the telegraphic message, saying that the Great Powers were about declaring for Don Carlos. I replied that the Great Powers had their own important affairs to attend to; moreover, England and France were united in favour of Isabella II. and Donna Maria, and that Don Carlos's political and military game was nearly played out.

Señor Merry accompanied me on the 8th to Carlsruhe, to concert measures with Baron de Haber in the interest of Don Carlos. At Cologne we heard that the Carlist general, Moreno, had been assassinated by the Navarre soldiery.

On the 14th we arrived at Carlsruhe, and after long discussions on Carlist affairs, the result was all to fear and little to hope for. On the 16th Señor Merry returned to London. At 7 p.m. on the same day, a courier from Paris went through Carlsruhe for Vienna, with the news

that Don Carlos had taken refuge in France on the 13th. Now, then, the Carlist war in the provinces was at an end; but the ultra-Carlists and some other Apostolicals had strange ideas as to the performance of a miracle in favour of Don Carlos; but he was sent with his family, including his wife, son, and Don Sebastian, by Louis Philippe to reside at Bourges, south of Orleans.* The King of the French forwarded the Grand Cordon of the Legion of Honour to Espartero, and had his eye more than ever upon Isabella II. for one of his sons.

Don Carlos was not the individual for the desperate position he was placed in. He went through thick and thin for the Absolutos in and out of Spain, and at times he must have believed that "La Divina Providencia" would take him as Rey Absoluto to Madrid. Had he got to Madrid, to have maintained himself there he would have had to meet Spain, in some way or other, on modern Spain's terms; for many leading Carlists were for progress. Whether he was allowed by the Apostolicals to look at his position with modern views, or that he himself clung fanatically to the wreck of worn-out ideas, he himself best knew. Maroto and the more progressive Carlists at last saw no hope of amelioration on the part of Don Carlos. They had been persecuted by the Estremados, so they brought the matter to a humane close by the "Transacion de Vergara," entering into arrangements with the Queen's Government.

* In 1839 the British Government ordered the "Rose," man-of-war, to cruize off the north coast of Spain, and in case Don Carlos and his family sought to escape, the vessel was to take them on board and protect them. The cruise was one of four months, in and out of sight of Santona. However, the Carlist fort at Santona, whenever the "Rose" came near, would fire at the British vessel.

Cabrera,* early in 1839, was prepared to carry the war towards Castile and Andalusia. He had increased his forces, and established posts in a projected march on Madrid. It was generally reported he was master of nearly one-fourth of Spain.

Colonel Lacy, R.A., the English military commissioner, wrote from Murviedro on January 29th to Cabrera, suggesting the exchange of prisoners. The reply from Beceite on 1st February was favourable.

There were severe skirmishes, followed by the action at Alcora on the 3rd February, but Van Halen managed to supply Lucena with provisions and ammunition.

Cabrera had contracted in England for 30,000 muskets; on the 6th February a vessel containing 7900 was taken by a Cristino Guarda Costa near Benicarlo, which he considered was so many men lost to him.

On the 23rd March was the action at Segura between Cabrera and Ayerbe. The Carlists state their loss at 79; that of the enemy 300. The Carlists remained in possession of the fortress.

The treaty for the exchange of prisoners was signed at Segura on the 1st April by "El Conde de Morella," and at Lecera on the 3rd by "Antonio van Halen."

Van Halen went towards Segura on the 6th April, but was routed by Cabrera, when he was deprived of his command, Nogueras replacing him, who, however, was soon succeeded by Leopold O'Donnell.

Cabrera went before Villafamés on the 15th April; he effected a breach, and made two ineffectual assaults. On the 17th scaling the walls was tried. The next day, on the approach of a superior force, Cabrera had to retire.

* "Vida Militar de Cabrera."

On the 20th of April the first exchange of prisoners took place at Onda, about 1000 on each side.

Cabrera got information of Maroto's shootings at Estella on the 19th February, and the consternation of Don Carlos and his Corte.

There were attempts to assassinate and poison Cabrera. One Lopez Moel was decapitated.

On the 17th July O'Donnell wrote from Lucena that he had humbled Cabrera's pride, who had a force of fifteen battalions and 500 horse; Cabrera stating that he had to retire for want of ammunition. The Cristinos relieved the place, but it cost them 150 killed and 500 wounded.

The Carlists besieged and took Tales, eleven leagues from Valencia. O'Donnell came in sight of it on the 1st of August, and up to the 14th had various fights, taking the three forts, and says the Carlists lost more than 700 men. The Carlists state that O'Donnell lost 200 killed and 1000 wounded. During a fierce portion of the fight Cabrera became "blind with rage," and Cevallos, to save his life, carried him off by force.

The loss of Tales was soon avenged by Arevalo in the action of Chulilla on the 31st August. He routed Ortez's brigade, and took 800 prisoners, 1000 muskets, guns, baggage, and stores.

On the same day Espartero and Maroto had embraced at Vergara. There was peace in Navarre, but death and desolation in Arragon and Valencia, in consequence of the fearful surprise of a Cristino column at Carboneras by Cabrera and Forcadell. (There is no Cristino account of this surprise.)

On the 1st September Perez, who defended Carboneras, expected help; fire, shot, and shell went to work; the next day Perez capitulated. The Carlists lost among

their killed "a valiant captain," Miguel Pertegaz, and 172 wounded. The Cristino loss was 153 killed, 46 wounded, and 2000 prisoners, 2000 muskets, and 150 horses.

Cabrera, on receiving the intelligence of the Convention of Vergara, exclaimed, "Unheard-of treason! O my beloved monarch! O brave volunteers, what will now be your fate?" Sadness followed his rage; he called his officers about him. It was decided to attack O'Donnell and continue the war. He ordered a grand review at Morella. They all swore, and kissed the cross on their swords, to stand by Don Carlos to the last.

Espartero having concluded the war in the provinces, got to Zaragoza on the 4th of October, with 44,000 infantry and 3000 horse, having with him Aspiroz, Diego Leon, Puig-Samper, Alcalá, Castañeda, and other generals. Two persons, Chicoy and Guaret, were executed—one as a Cristino spy, the other as an intending assassin of Cabrera.

In December Cabrera had nearly 20,000 infantry and over 2000 horse. Espartero and O'Donnell were in quarters at Mas de las Matas and Teruel, preparing for the campaign against Cabrera.

The following is the best account of Maroto's convention of Vergara:*—In June, 1839, Teijeiro and other Apostolicals who fled after the Maroto shootings, collected on the French frontier, and issued, with the secret consent of Don Carlos, an incendiary proclamation, when the 4th battalion of Navarre and some companies of the 3rd revolted, placing at their head the Cura

* It appeared in a French paper in 1841, and is supposed to have been written by Iturbe.

Echeveria. Maroto intercepted a secret correspondence between Teijeiro and Don Carlos, by which it was seen that Don Carlos had confided orders of a stringent nature to the Conde de España and Cabrera against Maroto; thus he had no time to lose, if he did not wish to become a victim to the Apostolical party he had so cut up on the 19th February in Estella. Maroto was also much pressed by Urbistondo and Latorre, who threatened to enter into negotiations with Espartero, if peace were not at once arranged.

Under pretext of quieting the progress of Echeveria's operations, Don Carlos had a conference with him; and although Navarre was in a state of Apostolical ferment, the Transacionistas came boldly out. In the midst of continued agitation Maroto preserved his habitual reserve and coolness, continuing his arrangements with Espartero through Lord John Hay, who was at the Carlist head-quarters. Maroto, when he saw himself about to be persecuted by the Apostolicals, and threatened by his own party, did not hesitate; and when he had received the necessary security from Espartero, he began his march on the 15th August, with two battalions of Castile, one of Navarre, and two squadrons of cavalry, to oppose the Apostolicals. On the 18th, at 9 a.m., he came up, at Villareal de Zumarraga, with Don Carlos, who requested him to fall back to sustain a movement against the enemy. This was a pretext. Maroto at once saw Don Carlos's object was to give the Apostolicals time to congregate their forces, and give him a *coup;* so Maroto resolved to finish the matter of the Convention at once. On the 20th, he moved with three battalions to Elorrio, in front of the Cristinos, who were at Durango. Whilst the Carlist officers were occupied in settling the preliminaries of peace,

Don Carlos and his eldest son made their appearance on horseback. The suddenness of the arrival of Don Carlos produced a strange effect upon the soldiers. The officers had disposed them for peace, saying that further sacrifices were useless in a cause the triumph of which was impossible. The presence of Don Carlos, and the prestige he still had in the eyes of the army, neutralised, in a measure, these efforts made for peace. Had Don Carlos been resolute, Maroto would have been irremediably lost; but at that most important moment Don Carlos was, as usual, weak and irresolute. He stopped before the battalion of Castile, then in column. An air of profound respect was seen in the faces of those in the front line, and almost of enthusiasm. This did not inspire him with the necessary courage. Now arranging his dress, now playing with his bridle, he said, in a confused and tremulous tone: "My children, do you recognise me as your King?" "Yes, yes! Long live the King!" replied the battalions. The cry was so spontaneous that Maroto, who was behind the King, became alarmed, and began to make signs to the officers in the ranks. Don Carlos continued: "Are you disposed to follow me wherever I may go, and shed your blood for my cause, and that of religion?" Some of the soldiers said "Yes." The greater number replied, "Let us have peace! Long live our general!" "Volunteers!" exclaimed Don Carlos, in whom humiliation excited for a moment a gleam of energy, "where your King is there is no general in the case. Your King, who speaks to you, asks, for the second time, if ye are disposed to follow him wherever he may go?" The battalions, especially those of Guipuzcoa, preserved a profound silence.

Don Carlos, in a state of astonishment, turned to Iturbe, asking him what that silence meant. "Señor,"

he replied, "those men do not understand Spanish." "Well, then," said Don Carlos, "tell them in Vasquence." Iturbe advanced to the battalions, and in a loud voice cried out, "This man charges me to ask you if you will follow him. I advise you to ask for peace," and, approaching them still nearer, in a louder tone, and looking most fixedly at the soldiers, asked, "Paquia naic zue motillac?" ("Boys, do ye wish for peace?") "Vai, Juana!" ("Yes, sir!") was the general cry.

Don Carlos, struck dumb, and in the greatest consternation, turned his horse and left. He was followed by his son, Don Sebastian, and the escort, taking the route in all haste to Vergara.

The Cristinos observe, the Carlist cause was gravely wounded by Maroto's shootings at Estella;* but many saw that Don Carlos was not worthy of the sacrifices made for him. Maroto was convinced that nothing satisfactory was to be expected from him or his surroundings; and he had the boldness to settle by a Convention the question of the War of Succession.

April arrived. Espartero marched towards the forts of Ramales and Guardamino, in the vicinity of which Maroto was. Continuing his advance on the 27th by the Los Tornos road, so as to fall on Nestosa, he found seven battalions to oppose him. There was a partial fight on the 30th between some of Maroto's troops and Aleson's brigade, favourable to the latter.

On the 8th May the Cristinos besieged Ramales, which was soon abandoned. However, there was a sanguinary attack on the Cristinos by the battalions sent to protect the fort; but they retired. On the 11th the Cristinos

* Mariana, iii., 425.

occupied Guardamino, after severe fighting, when Maroto asked for a truce, promising to give orders to hand over the fort, nine pieces of artillery, arms, munitions, provisions, and 273 prisoners.

Leon proposed to take the Carlist fortifications at Belascoain, and crossed the Arga on the 1st May. Elio failed to oppose his progress, and Leon took all the said works, reducing them to ashes. To this victory was added the taking of the trenches of Arroniz. On the 11th Leon seized, at the point of the bayonet, the redoubts of Mendia.

After these Cristino successes, Maroto thought Don Carlos might be induced to come to some terms, and he made advances more or less direct to Espartero. He also requested England and France to use their best efforts to open negotiations on certain conditions, the principal being the marriage of Isabella to a son of Don Carlos, granting a pension to Don Carlos, who was to leave Spain, the preservation of the Basque Fueros, the convocation of the Cortes to fix the bases of a new Constitution, suspension of hostilities, full amnesty, and the recognition of the grades of all officers. England considered these inadmissible, and offered the following: Don Carlos to leave Spain, amnesty and recognition of rank and pay of the Carlist army, the oath of the Basque Provinces and Navarre to the Constitution of 1837, and the preservation of their Fueros. France offered military help under certain conditions. Espartero opposed the greater portion of the terms. Maroto declared to Don Carlos that he should look to the future of his children, and take into his councils the foreign commissioners who were at the royal head-quarters. Don Carlos was blind to every sort of arrangement, and his only

reply was that the Generalisima* (the Virgin) would take him in triumph to Madrid. There were some who now proposed to place Don Carlos by force on the other side of the Spanish frontier. Maroto had an interview with his eldest son, praying him to try and save the cause, by putting himself at the head of the army, which the Prince refused to do.

Seeing the obstinacy of Don Carlos, Maroto proposed the expulsion of Carlos and Cristina from Spain; the affiancing of the elder son of Don Carlos to Isabella; the recognition of the Constitutional Government, with certain modifications; the preservation of the Fueros of the provinces; and officers and employés to retain their rank. Espartero would not listen to these terms, and declared to Lord John Hay, who acted as the medium of communication with Maroto, he would listen to no proposals that were not based upon the unreserved acknowledgment of the Constitution. A copy of this was forwarded to Don Carlos, who, unable to decide, sent it to Teijeiro, then in France. To frustrate Maroto's views means were resorted to by the Estremados to foment insurrection among the Navarrese troops, so that, if necessary, Don Carlos would have these to fly to. On the 9th August the 5th battalion of Navarre rose at Irurzun, directing itself on Vera, near to the French frontier, Aguirre, the Cura Echeveria, and Basilio Garcia heading them. They had but

* Don Carlos created above all his generals a singular authority, "La Generalisima," who was the Holy Virgin Mary (Dolores), the mother of God. It may be stated that during the war of independence the Virgin of the "Desamparados" (the Forsaken) had received the title of Captain-General of Valencia. Our Lady of Pilar had governed the arms of Zaragoza; S. Narciso was made Governor of Gerona. This naming of Our Lady of Dolores by Don Carlos was most injudicious."—Galiano vii., 377.

few followers, neither did the other battalions join, or was any impression made on the villages by their *vivas*.

Maroto had now to watch an extreme point of Navarre, the focus of reaction, which complicated his position; then Teijeiro, under Don Carlos's orders, had, even before arrangements had been spoken of, gone on his way to the Conde de España and Cabrera, to make known to them the state of subjection Don Carlos was in. Letters sent by Teijeiro to Don Carlos were intercepted, and the projects of the Apostolicals made known to Maroto, who complained loudly, so a royal order was published declaring Teijeiro criminal. However, everyone knew the true wishes of Don Carlos; and under pretext of quelling disturbances on the frontier, he had a long conference with Echeveria. Don Carlos, in his double conduct, had authorised Maroto to march against the rebellious troops, and in the middle of August, with this object, as well as to clear the frontier from impediments, the general put himself in movement, with two battalions of Castile, one of Navarre, and two squadrons of cavalry, promising Espartero that he would not attempt any operations for two or three days. In Villareal de Zumarraga, on the morning of the 18th, he came up unexpectedly with Don Carlos, who begged him to fall back, as he wished to be present at the military operations against the enemy, which had advanced to Villareal de Alava, and threatened Ochandiano, adding that the rebellious troops would now be pacified. Maroto, however, understood the pretext, and the danger he was in, and also that of all those who wished for peace. Don Carlos told him during that evening he was surprised he had not presented to him the various officers. Maroto had it signified that they should present themselves to Don Carlos and his

wife; but with the usual want of resolution at every epoch of his life, Don Carlos made use of only the so-often-repeated phrases of "Adios!" "How are you?" "Which battalion do you command?"

On the 20th Maroto moved, with three battalions and other troops, to Elorrio, in sight of the Queen's army, then at Durango, where, on the 25th, he had his first interview with Espartero; and when the question of the Fueros was again the subject of discussion, Espartero declared that he could not decide the matter, but he would promise to recommend their acceptance. This interview of the two generals being known to Don Carlos, who was at Villafranca, he called his Ministers together, when it was arranged that before coming to any resolution the feelings of the troops should be known, and that Don Carlos in person should present himself to them. He went to Elorrio, taking Maroto by surprise, and forming the battalions he put himself in front of the line. He harangued the Castilians, and when he had finished, the 5th battalion only cried "Viva el Rey!" The rest of the troops shouted for their general; and although Don Carlos replied that their general was himself, the troops did not take it in the sense he wished. He went towards the Guipuzcoans; he spoke to them of their past victories, loyalty to their oaths, and when he found they did not pay much attention, he said to those who were at his side, "Does no one hear me?" The reply was: "No, señor, they speak Vasquence." Don Carlos then told Lardizabal to translate to them what he had said, but the interpreter becoming somewhat confused, Iturbe cried out to them in their language: "Boys, this man asks you, will you have peace or war? Tell him peace!" "Peace!" they all shouted. Don Carlos had scarcely heard the reply, when

he gave reins to his horse and galloped away to Villafranca. Had Don Carlos known how to command the adhesion of the 5th battalion of Castile, or the astute Iturbe had not reduced his questions to such precise terms, the circumstances of the case would have been complicated afresh. In the afternoon, some bodies of troops and the people cried "Viva la paz," and from the villages the inhabitants came full of joy.

That same day there was a public interview between Maroto and Espartero; and General Latorre, one of the most decided for peace in the name of the Biscayans, was also in Durango. Already in the middle of August the officers of Guipuzcoa had authorized Iturriaga to enter into peace negotiations; and Latorre, for the Basques, was desirous of putting an end to the war. All these chiefs and officers saw, after six years of unprecedented sacrifices, that Don Carlos and his advisers were in every way impracticable in the interests of Spain.

Don Carlos now issued a decree deposing Maroto, naming the Conde Negri in his place; but he having advanced to Elgueta was arrested, but was afterwards restored to liberty.

On the 28th, Espartero having arrived at Oñate, the Convention was formally drawn up. On the 29th Maroto marched to Vergara, where Espartero was, and on the 30th the Convention was made public, and signed by the chiefs, and its realisation effected on the memorable morning of the 31st on the plains of Vergara. The Carlist battalions were assembled. Espartero advanced to them, accompanied by Maroto, and said: "Do you all wish to live like Spaniards, under one flag? There you have your brethren (pointing to his troops), for they await you; fly and embrace them as I embrace your general." He then

embraced Maroto, when enthusiastic shouts resounded from both armies. The arms were piled of those who had been rivals so long, and they rushed into each other's arms.

The articles of the convention were ten in number: 1st, Espartero offered to propose to the Cortes the concession or modification of the Fueros; 2ndly, to recognise the rank and honours of those of the army commanded by Maroto, who might serve Isabella II. or retire. The other articles settled various particulars; extensive advantages being held out to those civil servants who presented themselves within the period of twelve days after its ratification. Finally, Espartero was to take possession of all the artillery, arsenals, depôts of arms, clothing, and provisions; with other stipulations relating to prisoners, and the widows and orphans of those who had died during the war. The Carlist division with Maroto consisted of three battalions of Castile and four companies and one squadron of Guipuzcoa, eight battalions of Biscay, and four howitzers, 12-pounders.*

Don Carlos still had all the Navarrese battalions, six of Alava, one of Cantabria, and one of Castile. He could still have made Arragon the theatre of war, but such a step was not to be expected from so weak a prince, and his only thought now was to get out of Spain.

On the 15th of September he went to Sanz, avoiding his revolted troops at Vera, who were committing terrible excesses. They had killed their general, Moreno, at

* The Carlist army in the provinces amounted to nearly 29,000 men; 7600 entered France with Don Carlos. In Catalonia there were twenty-two battalions and six squadrons. Cabrera had in Arragon and Valencia forty battalions, nine squadrons, and many bodies of volunteers; from Cuenca was extended a line of fortresses uniting with the strong places of Morella and Cantavieja to the Ebro.

Urdax, on the 6th, who was shot by some soldiers of the 11th battalion of Navarre. He begged for a confessor; "Kill me to-morrow; let me live to-day; but half an hour." "Die!" replied his executioners. "Such mercy as you showed to Torrijos shall be shown to you." Lassala says, when Don Carlos heard of Morena's assassination, he observed: "I am not surprised; he had many enemies." *

Espartero meanwhile advanced to surround Don Carlos in the Bastan, who had entered Elizondo on the 10th; he left for Urdax on the 13th, and on the following day Don Carlos escaped across the frontier into France.

General Rafael Maroto, who brought the barbarous Spanish war of succession nearly to a close, was born at Conca, in Murcia, about 1785. He entered the army in 1808, and was a brigadier, having 4000 men under his command in the battle of Chacabuco in Chile, fought on the 12th of February, 1817, San Martin leading the patriots; 600 royalists were left dead on the field, the rest dispersed. Chile was soon afterwards freed from Spanish dominion. Maroto subsequently became President of Chuquisaca. With the defeat of the royalists in Peru, Maroto returned to Spain. He had married a wealthy Chilian lady, by whom he had two sons and one daughter.

Maroto is described (Mariana iii., 422) in 1839 as being of imposing presence, lofty and serious character, of few

* Moreno, the executioner of Malaga, made Torrijos his table friend, but he was the spy of Calomarde. Torrijos went to Gibraltar, when Moreno and the Spanish consul apparently entered into his plans, and decided that Malaga should be his point of disembarkation. Torrijos sailed with some fifty officers, and a young Englishman named Boyd, landing near Malaga. Moreno entrapped them, and they were executed December 11, 1831. Torrijos at one time had the Royal Family in his power, and might have been President of the Spanish Republic.

words, sagacious and brave, of firm resolve, impetuous resolution, and strong passions. He had been Captain-General of Guipuzcoa. On the death of Ferdinand he was imprisoned on suspicion of being connected with a Carlist conspiracy. When placed at liberty he joined Don Carlos in Portugal. Perceiving the ineptitude of the Bishop of Leon, and of those who directed Carlist affairs there, he opposed them, uniting himself to those of progressive sentiments. In 1834 he served under Zumalacarregui. In 1835 he commanded the Biscayans. The Carlist Corte got him into disgrace, and to get rid of him, in 1837 he was sent on a mission to Catalonia. Not being sustained there as promised, he left, retiring to France.

In 1838 he was persuaded to take command of the Carlist army in the provinces, and promise made to him by Don Carlos that his Government should be progressive; but Don Carlos was now in the hands of a most unscrupulous absolutist, Arias Teijeiro, who became a bitter enemy to Maroto. Teijeiro failed to entrap Maroto, who succeeded in shooting six of his partisans, which soon led to the downfall of Carlism by the Convention of Vergara, bringing a long and sanguinary civil war nearly to an end, also upsetting the most diabolical intrigues of the Corte party against those who had hoped that Don Carlos would have offered comparatively progressive political principles to the Spanish people.

Maroto went to Madrid, and was a member of the Council of War and Marine, but the Government was not desirous of his remaining in Spain. I am informed that in an apartment of his residence on the ground-floor, looking into the street, a cobbler took up his quarters, who had a stentorian voice, and was always roaring out

songs, at which Maroto sent his servant to expostulate, when the following scene occurred:—

Servant: What a row you are kicking up; the general begs you will sing in a lower key, and not annoy him.

Cobbler: How is this? What, cease my beautiful singing to please a traitor—a butcher of human flesh. Never!

At this Maroto flew into a tremendous passion, seized a horsewhip, and put himself into an attitude to thrash the cobbler, who got hold of his strap. At it they went with all their might; a crowd collected, cheering the cobbler, who redoubled the weight of his blows The result was, that although the cobbler had been well horsewhipped, Maroto retired badly beaten about the face. It was rumoured that persons in the Government had instigated the cobbler to annoy the general, who soon afterwards returned to Chile.

Maroto died in Chile on the 25th of August, 1853, and is called in the obituary Conde de Casa Maroto. One of his sons married a Señorita Hurtado, the other died. The daughter married a Señor Borgoña.

On the 23rd of March, near Cortés, in Arragon, Ayerbe had a drawn battle with Cabrera, who had seven battalions and 400 horse. There was much loss on either side.

In the beginning of April, through the mediation of General Evans, Van Halen and Cabrera entered into arrangements for the exchange of prisoners.

Van Halen went from Zaragoza against Segura with a considerable force to reduce it, but having got within sight considered it more prudent to retire, not being properly prepared to besiege it. This was looked upon as a retreat, and Van Halen was succeeded by Leopold O'Donnell, who went at once to the assistance of Lucena, besieged by

Cabrera. They encountered each other on the 17th of July near Gonzalvo. Cabrera had eleven battalions and 500 horse; O'Donnell twelve and 900 horse. The fight was a furious one, but Cabrera had to retire, and the place was relieved. Cabrera, on the 14th of August, was attacked by the divisions of Generals Azpiroz and Hoyos, and lost the fortress of Tales, with its artillery, arms, and provisions.

In Catalonia, Baron de Meer took the strong place of Ajer on the 12th of February. The Conde de España, Carlist General-in-Chief, determined to avenge this loss, besieged Balsareny on the 17th; he threw in three hundred and fifty shot and one hundred grenades, making a complete ruin of the place, but the approximation of Carbo caused him to retire. However, the conde got together 5000 men, and fell suddenly upon Maullen, on the 28th of April, which was defended only by Nacionales. He got into the town, destroyed all its manufactories, and gave but little quarter.

The conde besieged Ripoll at the end of May, which, after a defence of eight days, had to capitulate; the Carlists, abusing their victory, entered, and with fire and sword left the place a cemetery among heaps of ruins. Baron de Meer was replaced by Valdez, who made a reconnoisance on Berga; the conde considered he was about to attack it, so he burnt Gironella, Olban, and other places. He was maddened with the desire to shed blood, and destroyed Camprodon, Moyá, and other places, with great excesses. At last he was punished in the battle of Peracamps, when he tried to prevent Valdez coming to the assistance of Solsona. The conde having made many enemies among his own followers by his cruelties, his command was taken from him by the Junta; and whilst

he was retiring to France, his escort threw him, bound in a sheet, from the bridge of Espias, into the river Segre.* Segarra succeeded the Conde de España.

The Ministry of Perez de Castro, perceiving the approach of great opposition, suspended the Cortes on the 8th of February. On the 12th of May there was an interim Ministry, including Çarinolina, Rivera, and for finance Jimenez. In June the Cortes was dissolved, new elections to take place, to meet again in September. The Government had now the excitement and circumstances of Espartero's convention of Vergara and flight of Don Carlos into France. Alaix, the Minister of War, and who had assisted Espartero in the said convention, had most serious discussions with Arrazola, who had not kept his word in favour of the Fueros, and who wished to dissolve the Cortes before the time of its closing. Olózaga was much excited, but Alaix was prudent in defending the Ministry, when he and Olózaga walked towards each other, Olózaga exclaiming, "This is the Embrace of Vergara." At this the Cortes resounded with vivas for the "Constitution and the National Congress." The Fueros of the Basque provinces were confirmed. The Ministry suspended the Cortes from the 31st of October

* On October 26th, 1839, the conde quitted Berga to attend the Junta at Avia, where he was well received by his *aide-de-camp* Mariano Orten, and the Cura Ferrer, but at a given signal a pistol was fired at him. The wounded man was then bound on a mule and paraded about until November 1st, when he was taken to Casillas, telling him he was going to be set free in his own country, France. His former friend, Orten, came up and shot him, the conde exclaiming, "Ah, Mariano!" He was then stabbed by the rest of the party; stones were tied to the body, which was thrown into the Segre over the bridge of Espia. It floated up, and was buried by the peasants at Coll de Nargos. The Cura Ferrer returned to Berga, assuring the conde's partisans that he had seen him delivered safely in France. See also Mariana iii., 429.

to the 20th of November. The Court and its camarilla was too powerful for the Ministry. Alaix resigned, Narvaez taking his post as Minister of War; Collantes that of Arrazola. The new Government bridled the press, persecuted political adversaries, authorised various abuses, and gave out that Espartero supported them; this was not true, and which he publicly denied in his liberal and judicious "Manifesto de loa Matas." This document was not at all agreeable to the Ministry, or to Queen Cristina, who now wanted to be rather absolute; but the time for success in such a direction was passed. Espartero had still much military work on his hands in the direction of Arragon, but he had a very great majority of the army and the great mass of the people with him.

## CHAPTER XIX.

ESPARTERO's campaign against Cabrera; Segura and other places taken; Carlists abandon Cantavieja—Cabrera very ill—Morella capitulates—Cabrera retires to Berga—The Catalonian Carlists lose the battle of Peracamps—Segarra deserts to the Cristinos—Espartero before Berga; forces Cabrera to retire into France—END OF THE WAR OF SUCCESSION—Cost of the war—Cabrera's two severe illnesses; thought to be dying; Carlists lose Morella; Espartero created Duque de la Victoria—Cabrera's last fight at Berga; retires to France; is ordered to Paris and interrogated by M. Remusat; sent prisoner to Ham; removed to Lille, to make room for Prince Louis Napoleon after the Boulogne affair; Cabrera robbed of money and plate—Madrid politics; Cristina attempts to return to the despotic times of Ferdinand VII.; she goes to Catalonia, but cannot influence Espartero; she promises him to be judicious; on her return to Madrid breaks her promise; Espartero resigns his honours—Madrid in commotion; Cristina calls on Espartero to form a Ministry; she will not accept their views; they resign; Cristina goes to Valencia and names a Ministry—Rising in Madrid and Junta formed; Cristina wishes Espartero to go against the Madrid "rebels;" he refuses; he forms a new Ministry; Cristina abdicates the Regency and leaves for France; Isabella II. returns to Madrid; Espartero President of the Council; the Liberal Ministry—Papal Nuncio expelled.

1840.—THE Cristino* army commenced the campaign against Cabrera by attacking Segura on the 23rd of February, when 273 men and officers capitulated. Castellote offered a very sanguinary defence. Now followed a series of successes for the arms of the Queen. On the 5th of April Zurbano routed the 6th and 7th battalions of Arragon, near Pitarque and Montero; Beceite was

* Mariana, iii.

taken by surprise on the 19th, and on the 28th Mora de Ebro; then the forts of Aliaga, Ares, Alcalá de Selva, and the Castle of Alpuente fell. The Carlists abandoned Cantavieja. Bejar was taken on the 23rd of May by Iriarte. O'Donnell made himself master of Montan and San Mateo, and was successful on the Cenia.

Now came the grand operation of the campaign, the siege of Cabrera's stronghold of Morella. He was very ill, and had to entrust its defence to others. The fort of San Pedro Martir, in its advance, surrendered on the 26th. In reply to Espartero's batteries, the besieged hoisted a black flag on the Castle. The continued bombardment against it and the town produced most damaging effects, and damped the ardour of the defenders, who during the night of the 29th tried to evacuate. However, their design was discovered, and they were driven back with great loss. They capitulated on the 30th.

The taking of Morella was a mortal blow to the war in Arragon and Valencia. Cabrera, although very ill, went to Berga, in Catalonia, on the 1st of June, a strong place, and well supplied with military stores, where he hoped to be able to arrest the progress of Espartero, with the assistance of the Carlists of the principality; but these had just been enfeebled and divided by the battle of Peracamps, which gave the title of Conde to Van Halen. Then Segarra, who had succeeded the Conde de España in Catalonia, had gone over to the Queen's camp, and Cabrera could not help fearing some desertion of his troops to his enemy. Espartero appeared before Berga with very considerable forces, when the fortune of war was in his favour.

Cabrera retired to France, accompanied by Forcadell, Llangostera, and other officers, and a large number of

men. With Cabrera's retreat, the last hope of Carlism was brought to a close, after seven years of a most desolating civil war—a war of liberal ideas against absolutism.

It was estimated by Pita Pizarro that the war had cost the Queen's Government £210,000,000 sterling; to this is to be added the destruction of property by both armies, and what it must have cost the Carlists in contributions, donations, and the large sums from foreign Legitimists. The national debt was about 160 millions sterling.

There is but little safe data to go upon for the number of victims who fell on the field of battle, in the various sieges, in the defence of towns, in shootings, and in prisons and hospitals.

Cabrera* had two very severe illnesses, still he put his extended positions in a state of defence. On the 16th of December (1839) he took to his bed at Fresnada; being at Hervés on the 24th, he confessed and received extreme unction. He was carried to Morella, arriving on the 9th of January. "He had lost all strength, all power of thought, and was rapidly sinking. A fever devoured him; he was dying, the cause not being apparent." He had worn himself out. Forcadell was in command. It was rumoured that Cabrera had been poisoned. His troops said, "Shall we kill the doctors?" A solemn service was performed for him. The 9th Don Carlos, then Louis Philippe's prisoner at Bourges, added Catalonia to Cabrera's command, who was then slowly recovering. On the 30th he went to mass; in the evening he was on horseback. On the 1st of February he left Morella with Forcadell for San Mateo, visiting successively other

* "Vida Militar de Cabrera."

positions. He meditated much on his critical position, and was possessed with a "melancolia devoradora." He arrived at Mora on the 21st, and looking towards Tortosa, his eyes filled with tears.

Espartero laid siege to Segura, which capitulated on the 27th of February, his prize being thirteen officers, 274 men, six pieces of artillery, 80,000 cartouches, twenty-two quintals of powder, ball, stores, and provisions.

The Cristinos besieged and took other strong places, including Castellote. Espartero was making extensive arrangements to take Morella.

Cabrera fell very ill again, and, being at Mora, was thought to be dying. Mora was menaced by Leon and Zurbano. Cabrera was taken to Morella, arriving about the 4th of May. Marcoval, the governor of Cantavieja, received orders to destroy the works of this stronghold.

O'Donnell made a successful advance to the Cenia on the 20th of May, when, after a fight at Rossell, Cabrera, who could scarcely sit his horse, had to retreat. O'Donnell's brother, Enrique, fought in the Carlist ranks. His body was found pierced with balls. (See page 253.)

Cabrera was a skeleton; he could not sleep. He said: "I am no more Cabrera; I know not myself. At times I wish to die." But he still wanted to fight O'Donnell.

Espartero's diary of operations before Morella is from the 19th of May to the 30th. On the 29th, after 7,000 projectiles had been poured in, firing again commenced, when a bomb fell among a pile of shells inside the place, fired them, and blew up the powder magazine. The besieged decided on the abandonment of Morella that night. On the 30th Leandro Castilla, with a force of 2000 men, capitulated. The Carlists had lost 3000 men.

Espartero was created Duque de la Victoria, and made a Knight of the Golden Fleece, the greatest honours his country could bestow on him.

Cabrera retired to Berga (sixteen leagues from Barcelona). There was a suspicion that Segarra, who had succeeded the Conde de España, meditated a "Marotada;" he escaped to the Cristinos at Vich, and wrote: "Do not believe that foreigners will come to your help; lay down your arms and contribute to the pacification of your country." Several officers were about following Segarra's example; of these the commandant, Luis Castañeda (and others) was shot.

Espartero came before Berga on the 4th of July. Cabrera and Forcadell prepared for defence. There was much hard fighting, but it was of no avail for the Carlists. "Cabrera, on this last day of the campaign, exposed his life a thousand times; and had it not been for his orderlies, who tore him from a parapet and mounted him on horseback, he must have been bayoneted."

The following is from Cabrera's own observations in the "Vida Militar":—On the 5th of July he was encamped on the French frontier, nearly in sight of Palau and Oseja, with 4600 infantry and 300 horse; Forcadell, Llangostera, Burgo, and other officers were with him. On the 6th he was at Palau, in charge of the French authorities; thence he went to Perpignan. He was ordered to Paris, and interrogated by the Minister, M. Remusat. He said that 15,000 or 16,000 men entered with him into France; that Espartero had forty battalions and 4000 horse at Berga; he, Cabrera, had six battalions and 300 horse. That he had been very ill for eight months. Espartero had in Arragon 100,000 infantry and 6000 horse; Cabrera had 20,000 infantry and 2,000 horse.

Espartero tried to seduce his men, but could not; they were the best troops in the world. Cabrera would not submit to the Queen, and said, "The war is not ended; it will ruin my country." Segarra intended to have handed over the Carlist army to the Cristinos. "All the officers convicted of treason were shot." There was no time to punish the assassins of the Conde de España. When Cabrera was asked why he had done so much harm to Spain, he replied: "Compare the cruelties of the Cristinos from the commencement of the war with those of my side; read the correspondence of the chiefs of parties; then decide with impartiality, and see where there has been most clemency and justice."

Cabrera was sent prisoner to Ham, and had the same apartments formerly occupied by the Ministers of Charles X. To make room for Prince Louis Napoleon (after the Boulogne affair), he was sent to the fortress of Lille, where he found Alzaá, Elio, and Balmaceda. On the 24th of September he was allowed to go to Hières on parole.

Cabrera says he was most falsely accused of appropriating millions. His two sisters had entrusted a man named Picola and his wife with 60,000 francs in gold and some plate, being family property, to take care of; they swore they lost it. They were tried by the French tribunals; the man was condemned to two years' imprisonment, the woman to one. All the funds he had when he arrived in France were a thousand dollars and a few doubloons, being a portion of his pay.

With* the termination of the war the Queen, her camarilla, Narvaez (the rival of Espartero), and his friends, considered now was the time to reinstate the monarchy as

* Mariana, vol. iii.

in Ferdinand VII.'s time, but this required the acquiescence of Espartero and the bulk of the army. It was arranged that Cristina, Isabella II., and her sister, should, under pretence of taking baths, go to the capital of Catalonia. They left Madrid on the 11th of June. During the journey they found the people displeased with recent political doings. Cristina arrived at Barcelona on the 30th, and was most anxious to know Espartero's sentiments. He stood out for the Constitution of 1837, which ensured national independence. Cristina promised to follow Espartero's views, and form a new Ministry under his presidency. She returned to Madrid, but did not keep her word, and, moreover, sanctioned illegal laws. Thus deceived by the Queen, Espartero at once renounced all his honours.

On the 18th of July the capital was in an uproar; when Cristina saw plainly the error she had committed. She called upon Espartero to allay the tumult, who told her the only way to prevent a revolution was to accede to the just demands of the country, and name a suitable Ministry. The new Ministers presented their views to the Queen, who would not accept them; they resigned. The Queen, her camarilla, and partisans repaired to Valencia, but were not well received. She named a Ministry of her party; the nation looked upon this as an insult, and there was an immediate rising in Madrid. A Junta was formed, the populace protecting it. The Captain-General, Aldama, went against the Junta; a few of the troops and people were killed and wounded, but Aldama had to retire. Rodil was named Captain-General; a Provisional Junta was organised, and the capital was placed in a state of defence, with 20,000 men under arms to protect it.

The Queen, at Valencia, was terrified, and wished

Espartero to go against the "rebels" in the capital; which he refused to do, entering into a lengthy examination of the position of affairs, stating that his object was to sustain the throne of Isabella II., the Regency of the Queen, and the Constitution. Cristina, on the 12th of November, was forced to ask Espartero to form a Ministry from the party of progress. He went to Madrid, where he was received with open arms. The new Ministry repaired to Valencia to inform Cristina of their plans, which were so distasteful to her that she resolved at once to abdicate the Regency and leave the country. On the 12th of October she resigned, embarking on the 17th, in the Spanish steamer "Mercurio," under the name of the Condesa de Vista Alegre, in company with her husband, Muñoz, and their children.* The Government was now under a ministerial regency, composed of Espartero, Ferrer, Alvaro, Gomez Beccera, Chacon, Cortina, and Frias. The new Cortes were to meet on the 19th of March, 1841.

The 28th of October Queen Isabella returned to Madrid.

On Cristina's arrival in France, her associates, including Zea Bermudez in particular, were not the friends of liberal institutions. From Marseilles she issued a wordy document on the 8th of November (most probably concocted by Zea Bermudez), in which she tried to make herself out to be a martyr. The Government replied firmly to it.

The Ministry raised the state of siege of many places,

* Ferdinand VII. died 29th September, 1833. It is officially stated that Maria Cristina de Borbon was married *privately* to Fernando Muñoz on the 28th December following. By royal decree of 11th October, 1844, Maria Cristina was publicly married to Muñoz, now Duque de Rianzares, on the 13th.

reversed the order of banishment, granted amnesty for political offences, except to the Carlists, assured the liberty of the press and freedom of election, re-organised the militia, and put down various attempts at insurrection in the Basque provinces. The question of the navigation of the Douro gave some trouble with Portugal, and Spanish troops were sent to the frontier. However, through the mediation of England, this matter was amicably settled.

On the 29th of December Señor Ramirez de Arellano, Apostolical Nuncio, behaved unbecomingly to the Government, in consequence of the suspension of some judges of the Tribunal of the Rota, when he was expelled from Madrid.

# RÉSUMÉ

OF THE

# POLITICAL HISTORY OF SPAIN.

## THE REIGN OF ISABELLA II.

### 1841.

#### MINISTERIAL REGENCY.

JANUARY 16TH.—Law passed in Portugal to settle the free navigation of the River Douro.

*March 19th.*—The Cortes opened; it was nearly composed of Progresistas—a result of the late rising against Queen Cristina, and the despotic system of things she and her advisers sought to re-establish. A principal question was, should the Regency during the minority of Queen Isabella II. be in the hands of one, two, or even five persons.

*April.*—Arguelles was President of the Cortes. The Treasury was nearly empty; the Queen was advised to accept only one-third of her civil list.

#### REGENCY OF ESPARTERO.

*May 8th.*—The result of the voting for the Regent was as follows: Espartero, 179; Arguelles, 103; Cristina, 5; Almodovar, 1; Garcia Vicente, 1. *9th.* Cristina's pension

of £120,000 discontinued; her income from the State being restricted to the jointure insured by Ferdinand VII. 10*th*. Don Joaquin Baldomero Espartero, Duque de la Victoria, having the majority, took the oaths of office as Regent of Spain. Few men had accepted so important a position under such peculiar and unsatisfactory circumstances. The greater portion of the army and the many shades of Liberals were in his favour, and it was reasonable to suppose that Spain would have insisted on tranquillity after so long a civil war. He was, however, surrounded by enemies at home, urged on by the exiled Queen Cristina, who was in Paris. He had declared enemies in the beaten Carlists; the Legitimist Courts, and even that of the Tuileries were not his friends; and Cristina held out hopes to Louis Philippe that the Duke d'Aumale might become the husband of Isabella, so the King of the French became an ally of Cristina's against Espartero. England alone stood firmly by the Regent.

Espartero had much difficulty in forming a Ministry. Arguelles had the care of Isabella and her sister, Doña Luisa, as their tutor. This enraged Cristina, who sent a bombastic protest to Spain.

*August* 24*th*.—After some practical governmental work the Cortes closed. Cristina had been to Rome. She had promised Pope Gregory XVI. to do all in her power to place Spain as in the times of Ferdinand VII.

*October* 7*th* commenced the great military conspiracy against Espartero, Cristina being the prime mover. General Concha, at the head of a body of officers and men, marched upon the Palace, and tried to get possession of the Queen and her sister, but was beaten back by General Dulce. Diego Leon and his followers also attacked the Palace; he failed, and had to surrender.

Concha and others escaped, and the insurgent soldiery laid down their arms. However, Diego Leon, Conde de Requeña, Quiroga y Frias, and many others remained prisoners. Espartero left Madrid on the 20th to put down the insurrection in the north; when the troops in Zaragoza returned to their duty, but General Borso di Carminati was shot. The conspirators at Vitoria fled. Montes de Oca was taken and executed on the 21st. Zurbano put down the revolt in Bilbao, and the Basque Provinces were punished by having their Fueros unfavourably modified. O'Donnell made the best of his way from Pamplona to France; and Oribe fled to Portugal.

A permanent Council of War was installed in Madrid. The brave Diego Leon, Conde de Belascoin was sentenced by 4 votes to 3. Great efforts were made to save him, even by high personages in the Palace. He was shot on the 15th, outside the gate of Toledo.* Except Requeña, José Fulgosio, and Norzageray, who were transported, nearly all the chiefs of the conspiracy were shot.

*September 26th.*—Opening of the Cortes by Queen Isabella, with the Regent Espartero by her side. The Cortes and the nation were divided into Ministeriales and Trinitarios; the former for advancing reform, were under Lopez and Caballero; the latter, led by Olózaga and Cortina, were supposed to be moved by ambition and personal resentments. Both parties opposed Espartero and his friends, as if they were their natural enemies.

*December 13th.*—There was a general pardon of all persons not yet tried concerned in the October conspiracy.

* Leon was the Castilian Murat; his lance ever spread terror amongst his enemies. He immortalized his name in many actions, including Belascoin, Montejurra, Villarobledo, Grá, Huerta del Rey, and at the siege of Morella. His execution was "one glory less, and one stain more for Spain."

1842.

*January 17th.*—The Ministry under Gonzales was upset, General Rodil taking his place as President of the Council, or Prime Minister. The Cortes was at once dissolved, to meet on the 14th of November. Espartero's difficulties increased, one party asserting he wanted to sell Spain to England and ruin home manufactures, particularly those of Catalonia.

*October.*—There was a coalition of the Press against the Regent, who was accused of desiring to be dictator, and that it was time to move him from power. In the name of "Carlos V." Felip, Camprodon, and others were disturbing Catalonia. Zurbano was sent in pursuit of them, and "in a month of his severities they were dispersed."

*November 13th.*—Insurrection in Barcelona against the Government, and in favour of special protection for their manufactures and commerce. The troops under Van Halen and Ruiz were beaten, and had to retire to the citadel. On the 29th Espartero went before Barcelona. He bombarded it into surrender about the 4th of December. By order of Van Halen, one Carcana and thirteen men of the "Free Corps" were shot on the Esplanade at Barcelona.

Calomarde, Ferdinand VII.'s favourite Minister of Grace and Justice, died at Toulouse. He offered his services to Don Carlos, who refused them. He was tormented by hypochondria, and went to Rome, whence he left "transformado"—changed—and from that time he assisted necessitous Liberals as well as Carlists.

1843.

*January 1st.*—Espartero returned to Madrid. The

Cortes was dissolved. General Seone succeeded Van Halen in Catalonia. The Barcelona Mint was closed; the citadel rebuilt; and the loss by bombardment, valued at twelve million reals, added to twelve millions more (£240,000), was levied upon the proprietors and merchants. The Government and the Liberals generally were very wrath with Louis Philippe for upholding the intrigues of Cristina.

*April 3rd.*—Opening of the Cortes. Rodil had his ministerial crisis.

*May 9th.*—Lopez President of the Council, with General Serrano, Cabellero y Frias, and others. This Ministry proposed to the Regent measures considered just then out of place, including the removal from their posts of his military adherents, Ferraz, Zurbano, Tena and Linage, the last was his friend and councillor. *17th.* The Ministry resigned, but the Cortes said the Ministers had the confidence of the nation, which was equivalent to a declaration of war to the Regent. The new Cabinet, composed of Mendizabal, Laserna, under the presidency of Gomez Becerra, dissolved the Cortes; but the deputies, before they separated, instigated their speaker "to shout the war cry against Espartero of 'Vivas for the country and for the Queen.'"

The deputies returned to their constituents, exciting them to rebellion against the Regent. Juan Prim hoisted the standard of revolt in his native place of Reus in Catalonia, uniting with a portion of the army. In Valencia, in a mutiny on the *10th June*, the political chief, Camachô, was killed; indeed, the whole of Spain seemed ripe for a rising against authority, and a desire to overthrow the fabric raised in September of the previous year, and upset Espartero. On Prim's viva at Reus for the

Queen's majority (she was only in her 13th year) Zurbano marched upon Reus, arriving near to it on the 12th. There was some fighting, the defenders of the place singing Riego's hymn, with vivas for the Queen and liberty. Zurbano granted honourable capitulation. Prim subsequently became Conde de Reus. Zurbano went to Lerida, where he found General Seone in command of the united forces of Catalonia, Arragon, and Valencia. They marched towards Barcelona, then in ripe revolt, as were other cities, against the Regent. They encountered great obstructions in the formidable positions of Bruch, occupied by the Catalonian Guerillas. Zurbano tried in vain to get them into more open country, for which he had to make a retrograde movement on Tarrega; but Seone ordered a movement on Zaragoza.

On the 13*th June* Espartero published a justification of his conduct, protesting that he would not hand over the Regency to confusion and anarchy, and resolved to put himself at the head of the troops against his enemies. On the 21*st* he left Madrid, but nearly the whole of Spain had been incited against him. His more powerful opponents, Narvaez, Concha, Pezuela and Fulgosio, had been warmly received by the insurgent Junta of Valencia.

The Seone-Zurbano division came by forced marches with orders to protect the Government, arriving at Guadalajara on the 18th, when Narvaez and Aspiroz went towards it, encountering one another on the plains of Torrejon de Ardoz. Narvaez' troops had scarcely replied to the fire of their opponents, when he executed a skilful movement, placing his men between their artillery and infantry, shouting vivas for the Constitution, and "We are brothers, let us embrace." Seone's men fraternised with their opponents, but looked as if they had been misled,

and said they had been sold. Zurbano, seeing Seone and Narvaez embrace, mounted the first horse he could get hold of and rode off to Madrid. That same night both divisions entered the capital, "which was as silent as a ruined city."

Aspiroz and a considerable staff went to the Queen, stating that the Junta of Castile had given him the command of the troops, "to ensure her Majesty's safety, and that she was to reign as Queen." Narvaez at once disarmed the militia, and did other unconstitutional acts.

Espartero, seeing it was too late to enter into any arrangements with his enemies, proceeded to Albacete (between Madrid and Alicante); thence he went to Seville, which pronounced against him, so he now only proposed to seek safety, with the authority the Cortes had given him as Regent. He left Utera (four leagues from Seville) on the 28th, embarking from the port of Santa Maria on board the steamer "Betis." Arriving in Cadiz Bay, in the presence of those accompanying him, including Nogueras, La Serna, Van Halen, Linage, Infante, and Guerra, he protested, on the 30*th*, that what had been done by his enemies was in direct opposition to the Constitution, and that he would hold the Regency until the time appointed by law had expired. The general opinion out of Spain was, that "Espartero was a brave and honest man, and as Regent was well disposed to govern according to constitutional law."

### PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT.

The Provisional Government in Madrid, under the leadership of Lopez, declared Espartero to be a traitor, depriving him of all his honours, as well as those who had signed the protest. There appeared to be no doubt

that Cristina from Paris had supplied funds to the enemies of the Regent for their successful revolt.

Espartero repaired on board the British man-of-war "Malabar," then at Cadiz. He was received as Regent of Spain, going in that vessel to Lisbon, when another British man-of-war, the "Formidable," took him to Havre, where his wife was; thence he went to England, arriving in London on the 23*rd August*, being received as Regent *de facto*. Queen Victoria had a lengthened interview with him at Windsor.

The Provisional Government, with Narvaez at the head of the army, among other high-handed changes, deposed a multitude of officers from their rank, replacing them even by Carlists. An Extraordinary Cortes was called to anticipate the coming of age of Isabella; the Ministry depriving many of the former Senators of their votes.

The Barcelona Centralists had in vain claimed of General Serrano, who at one time, as "Ministro Universal," had given his word to convoke a Central Junta, to continue the legal order of things which had been upset by the expulsion of Espartero. They had recourse to arms, and for more than two months defied the attacks and bombardments of the Government troops; but in *November* had to yield. Prim also declared against the Government, and had successes at Gerona and Figueras. Zaragoza, Leon, and Galicia, sided with the Centralists.

*November* 4*th*.—Election for President of the Chamber of Deputies, when Olózaga was chosen, which was equivalent to being Prime Minister. On the 8th Queen Isabella was declared to be of age.

### QUEEN ISABELLA II. REIGNS IN PERSON.

10*th*.—Isabella, being thirteen years and one month old,

had regal governing power thrust upon her. In eleven months more she would have been fourteen, when she would have been of age according to law. Spain was to be all peace, happiness, and prosperity. On the 6th, Narvaez, Captain-General of Madrid, was shot at in his carriage; one of his aides was killed, the other wounded.

Lopez handed over the Government to Olózaga. Serrano, the great favourite at the Palace, was in the Ministry. Olózaga "was a bold, proud man, and did not make friends; indeed, a camarilla or Palace intrigue was soon afloat to undermine him."

Among the decrees Olózaga placed before the Queen to sign was one for the dissolution of the Cortes, when he considered it opportune so to do. This was made known to the Moderados by Serrano. As if by magic, it ran through Madrid that an unheard-of attempt had been perpetrated in the Palace; that Olózaga had presented a decree for the dissolution of the Cortes for the Queen's signature, who refused, and being unable to persuade her by fair means, he obtained her signature by violence, notwithstanding her tears and cries, and that she herself would repair to the Cortes, state what had occurred, and have the author of such a crime punished.

The session opened; it was thronged. Gonzales Bravo (now on good terms with Cristina) read in a loud voice Queen Isabella's declaration accusing Olózaga. Words such as "Banishment—the scaffold," were pronounced. Olózaga defended himself with firmness, ability, and eloquence. His opponents tried to stop him, observing, that although the Queen's words might be inexact, her right as a monarch should cause him to be silent, and suffer anything rather than contradict her. He observed he was ready to sacrifice his life for his family, his Queen, and country, but

neither for family, Queen, nor country would he sacrifice his honour. Some applause followed, but his adversaries saw they could not force him to commit himself.

The "scandal" was stopped by his being banished. On his route he fled to Portugal, thence to England, when his recent persecution placed him among the friends of Espartero.

The real account of Olózaga's anger, and what he did to the girl-queen, was known to very few. The Marquesa de Santa Cruz might have given evidence. It was believed that the Queen had been instructed by a powerful person of her camarilla not to sign the decree, and on her positive refusal, Olózaga fiercely threatened, and even shook her. She cried and screamed, but he forced her to sign.*

Gonzales Bravo, now Minister, resorted to most unconstitutional measures, including that of dissolving the militia, when there were insurrections, particularly in Alicante and Malaga. Narvaez succeeded Bravo as Prime Minister—a man of violent temperament, and who at last had obtained the object of his impatient, ambitious, and absolute desires. Narvaez, of the "iron and blood" sort, was long at the head of the despotic Moderados. Espartero was considered the leader of the Progresistas, the friends of constitutional liberty. Martinez de la Rosa led

* At that period Isabella II. is described as a precocious, sulky girl, pale, and not of an expressive countenance; wayward in disposition, and a character spoiled by destiny. Her sister, Luisa, had a sparkling face, radiant with vivacity and intelligence. Isabella was said to be of a wilful nature, subject to pettish fits, at times a little obstinate, deficient in intelligence, and showed temper. She was capricious, wilful, and dissembling; fibbing was not disdained by her. She had been taught to be false and artful by the force of circumstances. She had an extraordinary collection of sweets, the most perfect museum of confectionery in Europe.—"Revelations of Spain."

the "Pasteleros," trimmers, or French pastry-cook school of politicians.

1844.

*January 27th.*—Insurrection in Alicante. The war was carried on with "unrelenting ferocity," and prisoners taken on both sides were generally shot. *29th.* The daring Neapolitan Princess Carlota, wife of Don Francisco de Paula, and sister of Cristina, died.

*February 7th.*—The whole of Spain declared by Narvaez to be under martial law, so as to afford greater facilities for political "shootings."

*March 21st.*—Queen Isabella left Madrid to meet her mother, Cristina, who had come from Paris. They entered the capital on the 23rd in great pomp. Now there would be two female camarillas in the Corte, generally intriguing against the Ministry for their particular ends.

*July 10th.*—Cortes dissolved; convoked for the *10th* of *October*.

*October 10th.*—Queen Isabella completed her fourteenth year. Her civil list was placed at £320,000. This was the day on which Espartero had to give up the Regency, and a document from him appeared in Spain to that effect. On the 11th a royal decree was issued, sanctioning the public marriage of Cristina with Muñoz, who had been created Duque de Rianzarez, and on the 13th the public "nuptial benediction" took place. (Cristina was privately married to Muñoz, December 28th, 1833.)*

* Cristina had the reputation of being a strong-minded and clear-headed woman, resolute, cool, courageous, insincere, avaricious, and not much burdened with scruples, yet firmness and conciliation characterised many of her acts. Her return to Madrid, after nearly four years' absence,

On *November 12th* commenced Zurbano's insurrection at Najera, in Rioja, in favour of a Central Junta. He was made prisoner and shot (January 21, 1845), on the same spot where two of his sons, a brother-in-law, his secretary, and two friends had been executed.

## 1845.

*January.*—Don Enrique, Duque de Sevilla, second son of Don Francisco de Paula, born April, 1823, was considered, even when a midshipman, the favourite candidate for the hand of his cousin, Queen Isabella, but he was no favourite with his aunt, Cristina, and seeing that he had but little chance to become King Consort, he published his views as a Progresista with Centralist tendencies, which added to centralist disturbances. The Government of Narvaez had spread terror throughout the country, when Galicia commenced its insurrection.

*March.*—Don Enrique, who was at Corunna, in command of a man-of-war, was supposed to be implicated in this rising, and was ordered at once to Ferrol. He, however, quitted Spain, first taking up his residence at Ghent. (On the 6th May, 1847, he married, in Rome, Helena de Castelvi y Shelly Fernandez de Cordova.) On the 31st the chief of the staff of Galicia, Solis y Cueta, sallied from Corunna, and being at Lugo, *April 2nd*, declared against the Government, his cry being, "Let the Queen

proved to be an event of great political importance. The policy she seemed to have devoted her energies to was one curiously hostile to her daughter Isabella, but in accordance with her allegiance to Louis Philippe. The possible contingency of the early demise of Isabella was not idly speculated upon (considering the peculiar state of her health), and the eye of the King of the French was now fixed upon her sister Luisa as the wife of Montpensier.—"Revelations of Spain"

be free. Away with foreigners. The Constitution of 1837, and down with Narvaez, the Dictator." This allusion to "foreigners" meant that the Queen should not have a son of Louis Philippe forced upon her, but that her husband should be a Spaniard.

*May 18th.*—Don Carlos relinquished his claim to the throne in favour of his eldest son, Carlos Luis, who took the name of Conde de Montemolin, his father that of Conde de Molina. Carlos Luis issued a manifesto to the nation on the 22nd, which did not promise much. On the 23rd Queen Isabella opened the Cortes.

Cristina and her camarilla* ruled Isabella, and it suited Cristina's manœuvring to remove Narvaez, whose severity had caused much discontent. His fall caused great rejoicing. He was succeeded by General José de la Concha, who was strongly opposed to the insurrectionists in Galicia,

* Camarillas the Chronic Diseases of Spain.—In Spain there are two Governments—one ostensible and responsible, the other hidden and irresponsible; one in front of the Cortes, the other behind the throne; one preparing laws, the other impediments. The first great reigns of camarillas at the Spanish Court were those of Alfonso IX., and of his son, Pedro the Cruel, in the 14th century. The camarilla of 1844—5 was composed principally of Narvaez, the Marquesas de Santa Cruz and Valverde, Ossuna, Donoso Cortés, and Calvet, all adherents of Cristina, extreme Moderados in their politics, and strongly tinged with despotism. The movements of camarillas are occult; their intercourse with the crown is illicit; their action on a nation's destinies is a crime. Creeping, grovelling, and insidious, inured to baseness, and accomplished only in the arts of cunning, the camarilla burrows into the Palace like a rat, to emerge a thundering charger to do evil. Isabella's camarilla was brought to Madrid by an amnesty after the fall of Espartero, and proceeded to undermine the party by which the boon was accorded. Olózaga was one of its victims, and when smarting under the infliction of its malice, did not call it by its name, but that of "unconstitutional private relations and secret influences existing in a certain circle—it was proposed to me to arrange matters with a certain person, who was not in the Ministry."—"Revelations of Spain."

putting the rising down with a strong hand. Solis y Cueta, Velasco, four captains, and others were shot. "All these were covered with medals of the War of Succession."

*September 5th.*—There was a rising in Madrid, which Concha repressed by shooting a few persons.

In 1843 the strength of the army was put down at 50,000 men, one-half being in Madrid. It was now over 100,000.

*December 15th.*—New Cortes opened under Narvaez.

## 1846.

Narvaez had to resign; said to be on account of his health. He was succeeded by General Roncali. Narvaez, Duque de Valencia, was made Commander-in-Chief, much to the annoyance of General Serrano.

*March.*—Narvaez came into power again, and on the 18th he "promulgated his plan to rule Spain by a despotism." He soon found it convenient to resign, and to cover his "disgrace," was offered the post of ambassador to Naples, which he refused. He retired to France, where he could watch the course of events.

*April 23rd.*—Risings in Galicia. Concha took the field again, and gained the battle of Ribera, near Santiago. Shootings of insurrectionists followed. Concha was made a lieutenant-general for these services.

*June 9th.*—New loan of two millions sterling contracted with English capitalists. Ford, in his "Gatherings," states that, "in 1846, the revenue of Spain was from twelve to thirteen millions sterling; but the whole of it did not enter the Treasury, some of it sticking to fingers it had to pass through. In 1808 the public debt was

nearly eighty-three millions sterling, but in 1846 it was over 279 millions. Of this sum there was due to English bondholders £78,649,675."

*August 28th.*—It was at last officially announced that Queen Isabella had "selected" her cousin, Don Francisco de Assis, for her husband.

*September 14th.*—Cortes opened.

*October 10th.*—Marriage of Isabella to Don Francisco de Assis, and that of her sister, Doña Luisa, to the Duke of Montpensier, in Madrid.

*November.*—The Isturiz Cabinet suddenly resigned, but Isturiz continued at his post.

*December 31st.*—Cortes opened.

### SPANISH MARRIAGES.

The eldest son of Don Carlos, on accepting his father's abdication, published a manifesto with some modifications of his father's policy. He trusted in the love of Spaniards for his family and the help of Providence to place him on the throne. The Legitimists in and out of Spain urged his marriage with Isabella. The Cristino account of these marriages:*—Queen Cristina was favourable to the marriage of Isabella with the Duke d'Aumale, who was in his twenty-fourth year, Isabella in her fifteenth: but the King of the French, fearing the jealousy of England, apparently kept back; he also had the decided opposition of the Spanish nation. Cristina now made advances to the Conde de Trapani, then in his nineteenth year; however, Narvaez opposed this alliance. Don Enrique, the sailor cousin of Isabella, in his twenty-third year, the second son of Don Francisco de Paula and Doña

* Mariana, iii., 464.

Carlota, was favoured by Isabella; the nation would have had no objection to him, but Cristina and her party, the Moderados, opposed. His elder brother, Francisco de Assis, was suggested by Cristina; he was at Pamplona, and did not repair to Madrid on this matter when sent for.

Cristina again turned to the Court of the Tuileries for a candidate, Montpensier being pretty sure of the hand of Doña Luisa. The official journal of August 28th announced that Queen Isabella had selected Francisco.

England was hostile to the union of Doña Luisa and Montpensier, founding its opposition on the terms of the treaty of Utrecht. The King of the French replied with great subtleness; but Mr. Bulwer was instructed to present a most energetic protest on this subject to the Spanish Government.

Montemolin left Bourges on the 14*th September* for England, supposing the British Government might be favourable to his pretensions. This flight being known to Guizot, he declared the marriage of Doña Luisa with Montpensier should take place, "although it might cost France dearly," and wrote to England that France claimed what had been agreed to by the Quadruple Alliance in regard to the person of Montemolin. Lord Palmerston replied that Great Britain was hospitable to all those who were unfortunate, and would not allow the son of Don Carlos to be under any indecorous and arbitrary vigilance.

*October* 10*th*.—Isabella II. was married to Francisco de Assis, and her sister Luisa became the wife of Montpensier. There were official feasts, but the nation was displeased.

On Montemolin knowing who had been chosen as husband for Isabella, he notified his resolution to resort to arms. At the same time, the Basque Provinces and

Navarre issued proclamations, headed, "Long live Carlos VI.! True Liberty! Our Fueros."

The quarrels* about the Spanish marriages had come to a head, and had alienated England from Louis Philippe. It had been the policy of England—and, indeed, of the other European Powers—ever since the war of the Spanish Succession, and the Treaty of Utrecht which followed it, to provide against the possibility of the contingency arising of a union of the crowns of France and Spain in the person of one sovereign. Louis Philippe had made up his mind to violate this old-standing European compact, and to link his own progeny to the Spanish Queen, whom Palmerston, and not he, had materially assisted to place on the throne. Guizot attempted to show that the English Minister preferred the rival claims of one of the Coburg family; but Lord Aberdeen and Lord Palmerston denied the imputation, and there is evidence that the latter expressed disapprobation of the suggestion when it proceeded spontaneously from Cristina. It is believed that the consent of Isabella was wrung from her by French emissaries at a midnight revel; and that no time for reflection should be permitted, the royal intention was notified in the "Gazette" of Madrid the day succeeding the reluctantly extorted acquiescence. Thus, as the husband forced upon the Queen was not only the object of her aversion, there was the more likelihood of the throne being eventually filled either by the Duchess of Montpensier or her offspring.

Lord Ranelagh,† who was the medium of communication from old Don Carlos to Lord Aberdeen, insists that

* "Biography of Lord Palmerston," by J. M'Gilchrist, 1865.

† Pamphlet, "Legal Orders and Constitutional Rights, as Defined by Lord Aberdeen," by Lord Ranelagh, 1845.

the latter was guilty of a breach of confidence, by referring his communications to Louis Philippe; that from December, 1843, to December, 1844, two hundred and fourteen persons had been shot for political offences, "Narvaez being the master spirit of the assassin generals." Moved by the continued miseries of Spain, Don Carlos was induced to place before Lord Aberdeen certain proposals of marriage between Isabella and his son, who would then have accepted the position of "King Consort." The first communication from Lord Ranelagh to Lord Aberdeen was on the 15th March, 1844; on the 27th Lord Aberdeen said he could give no encouragement, but would write to Mr. Bulwer, then in Madrid; but he also made known this matter to the French Government, of which Lord Ranelagh bitterly complained. Lord Aberdeen wrote to Lord Ranelagh that he had no official information from Madrid, but had reason to believe that Don Carlos's suggestion would not be entertained there; that his propositions were vague and unintelligible; "indeed," he said, "I do not fully comprehend whether H. R. H. (Don Carlos) intended to abandon his pretensions and those of his son to the crown of Spain, or whether this concession was limited to his own person."

Here Lord Aberdeen is seen to be a most specious diplomatic pleader, for he knew well enough that Don Carlos now wished for a compromise between the male and female lines.

Guizot, in his "Last Days of the Reign of Louis Philippe" (1867), tries to vindicate his royal master, but says these marriages were nearly causing a serious rupture between England and France. Louis Philippe wished that his son, the Duke d'Aumale, should be the husband of Isabella, but was afraid of arousing the ire of England

—at any rate, that she should marry a Bourbon. This was to counteract the idea that a prince of the Coburg family might be suggested by England. But as he could not get the Queen for one of his sons, he managed to obtain her sister for Montpensier. The Queen was affianced to her cousin Francisco, which marriage he supposed would be a sterile one; then his son, or his children, might rule in Spain.

## 1847.

### SECOND CARLIST WAR.

Catalonia rose in favour of Carlism. Ros de Eroles and Tristany commenced by the surprise of Cervera, between Lerida and Barcelona, with vivas for "Carlos VI.! Out with the French! Let all Spaniards march united!" Two Carlist chiefs were captured and shot. When it was thought this rising was stopped, the appearance of large bodies of Carlist partisans suspended Cristino rejoicings.

Salamanca was now minister of a Conservative Cabinet. Mon and his party were unfavourable to him, and took advantage of certain palace dissensions to discredit him. Salamanca retired, when Narvaez came again into power.

The Carlists were increasing in Catalonia, under Vileta, Tristany, Boquica, Marsal, Borges, Caletrus, Beb de Oli, and Castells. The Cristino General Pavia promised to annihilate them, but this he did not succeed in.

*May 4th.*—Two shots were fired at Queen Isabella by a person named La Riva; he was garotted.

*September 3rd.*—Espartero was restored to his honours; he returned to Spain in December, and was most enthusias-

tically received by the people. He retired to Logroño, in Arragon, the birthplace of his wife, the heiress, Jacinta Santa Cruz.

Don Juan, second son of Don Carlos, married Maria Beatrice, a daughter of Francis IV. of Modena.*

The political history of the year was thus summed up: —"Rapid ministerial changes; camarilla or back-stair doings in the ascendant." Isabella and her husband lived in separate apartments; the nation upheld the Queen; the royal couple were persuaded to come together, but it was reported Isabella wished for a divorce. General Serrano was spoken of as the Queen's favourite.

*November 14th.*—The Queen's speech to the Cortes was in unison with Narvaez' strong ideas of government.

## 1848.

Pius IX. raised the cry of liberty,† which resounded at once through Europe; he would have retreated, but it was too late. Sicily sought to separate from Naples; Upper Italy fired the revolutionary train; Rome itself was violently agitated; and the Republican party in France upset the throne of the Citizen King, who, on the 24th February, escaped to England. After his abdication Lord Palmerston wrote, March 16, the following to Sir H. Bulwer:—

"Sir,—Advise the Spanish Government to adopt a legal and constitutional system. The recent downfall of

* There were two children by this marriage—Carlos Maria, born 30th March, 1848, and Alfonso Maria, 12th September, 1849. Don Juan and his wife separated; he resided much in England, coquetting with the various Ministries and parties in Spain. Carlos Maria will be referred to again, who, as a claimant to the crown, took the title of Carlos VII.

† Mariana, iii.

the King of the French ought to indicate to the Spanish Court and Government the danger to which they expose themselves in endeavouring to govern a country in a manner opposed to the sentiments and opinions of the nation: and the catastrophe which has just occurred in France is sufficient to show that even a numerous and well-disciplined army offers only an insufficient defence to the Crown, when the system followed by it is not in harmony with the general system of the country. The Queen of Spain would act wisely in calling to her councils some of the men in whom the Liberal party places confidence."

Upon the ruins of the French Monarchy floated the flag of a Republic, inscribed with "Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity." Many other countries with decaying institutions followed this example, as Rome, Naples, Sardinia, Hungary, and Germany; Austria also: and when Metternich was forced to resign his long dictatorship, he exclaimed, "What! is this the return I now get for my fifty years of service?"

*March 26th.*—Spain was in popular movement; a considerable portion of the people of Madrid had a sanguinary encounter with the garrison; the people were beaten, but not subdued.

*May 7th.*—More fighting with the troops. At 2 a.m. some companies of the España regiment left their quarters under a revolutionist, Bucta, taking possession of the Plaza Mayor. They sustained a fierce fight for hours; they had counted on assistance which did not arrive, and had to surrender. That same evening, one account says, Narvaez shot seventeen soldiers and seventeen civilians: many persons were transported, which the Government called "only changing their place of residence!"

On the 13th there was a military insurrection in Seville, which was put down; it was rumoured that Sir Henry Lytton Bulwer, the British envoy, favoured it. On the 17th he was ordered to quit the country within forty-eight hours, Narvaez telling him that Spaniards knew better than Englishmen how to govern Spain.

Montemolin took advantage of the disturbance in France to continue the war he had commenced. General Cabrera presented himself in Catalonia; Elio called Navarre to arms; Alzaa penetrated into the Basque provinces; Gomez was active; in Burgos, Gallicia, Estremadura, Andalucia, Valencia, Arragon, and even in Madrid, there were simultaneous indications of a vast conspiracy against the Government. In general, the attempts failed. Cabrera, alone in Catalonia, displayed the resources of his organising and strategetic genius; he got together 6000 volunteers, with whom he frustrated for a year the combinations of Paiva, Cordova, and Concha, who had over 30,000 men to oppose him. Frequently beaten, he nevertheless gained some notable actions, including the routing of Paredes; the surprise of Manzano; the blockade of Vich; the action of Pasteral (1st January, 1849), in which he was badly wounded.* Cordova employed other means than that of arms to subdue Cabrera. The first was causing the defection of Caletrus and Beb del Oli; that of Pozos, Ribas, and others followed.

Montemolin, who had refused certain propositions made by the Government, confiding in his success, when the desertion of chiefs from his side was known, considered

* It has been stated this was about the thirty-third wound he had received.

that, by his going to the seat of war, he might prevent further desertion and rivalries. He traversed France, but when near to Catalonia was taken by the French authorities. Cabrera, on hearing of the arrest of Montemolin, and the desertion of Marsal, one of his best officers, retired into France; the war came to an end in April, 1849. Cabrera, however, revelled in the fact that Louis Philippe had been upset, calling him an "avaricious, false, and corrupt prince." The following year Cabrera married Miss Richards, a rich heiress.

Under the shadow of this Carlist war, but not in coalition, the Centralists stirred up Catalonia; this was preceded by a manifesto by Don Enrique, who, jealous of his brother's marriage with the Queen, and having Liberal ideas, joined the Republican party. Of Government officers, Ballera, then Ametler, Baldrich, and Altamira scoured the frontier and the coast, which, for the space of five months, contributed to the alarming state in which Cabrera had placed the part of Spain he had operated in. Valencia and Arragon joined in the Centralist cry, which was eventually "smothered in blood!"

1849.

Narvaez had to resign; he was soon recalled, and carried on his favourite system of repression by the sword.

1850.

*April* 18*th.*—Diplomatic relations between England and Spain restored.

*July* 12*th.*—Queen Isabella delivered of a male child; died a few minutes after birth.

*August* 4*th.*—Lord Howden, the English Minister, pre-

sented to the Queen. *5th.*—Cortes dissolved; a new one summoned for October 31, when the Moderado party was in great majority. Spain had sent troops to protect the Pope; they returned.

Lopez, a Venezuelan, who had served with Espartero in the Carlist war, got up an expedition against Spanish authority in Cuba. He landed on May 17th with six hundred men, principally Americans. After a short but obstinate struggle, they took the town of Cardenas. They afterwards had an engagement with the troops. Many of Lopez' party were killed or taken prisoners; the others then embarked with Lopez and escaped.

Montemolin married the Princess Carlota of Naples.

## 1851.

*January* 12*th.*—Resignation of Narvaez, owing to the hostility of Cristina, who was jealous of his power. 15*th.*—New Cabinet formed, with Bravo Murillo as president.

*February.*—Don Enrique allowed to return to Spain. 9*th.*—Madrid and Aranjuez railway opened.

*August* 1*st.*—Law passed respecting the public debt, which excluded Spanish financial operations from the European money market. 13*th.*—Second invasion of Cuba by Lopez. He was defeated and taken, when fifty of his party were shot. He was garotted in Havanna, September 1st.

A secret society—the order of the Lone Star—formed in Alabama and other southern States, the object of which was "the extension of the institutions of the United States over the whole western hemisphere." The first acquisitions were to be Cuba and the Sandwich Islands.

*December* 1*st*.—Louis Napoleon's *coup d'état* in Paris. 4*th*.—His *coup de canon* (see page 444, vol. i.). Such a line of policy would exactly suit the Narvaez Moderado party. 20*th*.—Isabella II. gave birth to a daughter, the Infante Maria Isabella.

1852.

*February* 2*nd*.—Attempt on the life of Isabella by a priest of the Franciscan order, Martin Merino. He had been a priest, then a soldier, then returned to his first calling. He had long contemplated the assassination of Isabella, Cristina, and Narvaez, as enemies to Spain. The Cristinos say he had been a "misanthrope and revolutionist for years." As the Queen was passing down a gallery to the palace, in a procession from the royal chapel to the church of Atocha, to return thanks for her safe delivery, bearing her infant in her arms, Merino inflicted a severe wound in her right side, saying, "Take it, you have now got enough." He was degraded from his priestly office, and then garotted.

*December* 1*st*.—Cortes convoked; Ministers much opposed; they resigned; a new Ministry formed, with General Roncali as President of the Council, Martinez de la Rosa vice-president. Promises were made of great reforms.

1853.

*January*.—Narvaez "exiled" to Vienna as Minister.

*March* 7*th*.—Violent onslaught on the Roncali Ministry, in which General Prim "distinguished himself by the bitterness of his invective." He accused the Ministry, among other acts, of trampling on the Constitution. On the 8*th* the session closed.

*April 11th.*—Most of the Ministers resigned; Lersundi formed a Cabinet. On the 16*th* they published their programme, and retained office until September, when Sartorius (Conde de San Luis) formed another; but in the debates on a right to proceed with a railway bill Ministers were in a minority, and suspended the session.

*November 3rd.*—Juan Alvarez Mendizabal died in Madrid. This celebrated statesman and patriot was born in Cadiz, 1790. He did very much for the Liberal cause in Portugal, and in finding means for Dom Pedro during the celebrated defence of Oporto, 1832-3, which led to the placing of Donna Maria on the throne. He was Minister of Finance in Spain from 1835 to 1837. After remaining in opposition for three years he resumed his former office under Espartero in 1841. His public life closed with the fall of Espartero in 1843, when he was obliged to take refuge in Portugal.

## 1854.

*January 5th.*—The Queen gave birth to a female child, which shortly died. 19*th.*—O'Donnell, Concha, and others implicated in a conspiracy against the Government were ordered into banishment; O'Donnell secreted himself. (After the fall of Espartero, in 1843, O'Donnell was enabled to return to Spain; he was sent to Cuba as captain-general, in which lucrative post he acquired a large fortune; it was said he was far from hostile to the slave trade.)

*June 28th.*—O'Donnell's military revolt "of Vicalvaro, in company with Serrano, Dulce, Echague, and others, against the corrupt government of Sartorius;" it would have been a failure but for the assistance of Espartero and the Progresistas. This has been called a national revolt.

*July* 1*st to* 17*th.*—Movements headed by Espartero; Madrid in particular declared against the Government. There was some barricade work. 19*th.*—Triumph of the insurrection; the Ministry resigned; the Queen sent for Espartero to form a Cabinet; O'Donnell became Minister of War; "all Spaniards were to be as loving brothers." The Liberal Union was then formed.

*August* 28*th.*—Cristina was impeached; she had to leave Spain.

*November* 21*st to* 23*rd.*—Ministerial crisis; Espartero resigned; resumed office.

Isabella's private conduct* a common subject of blame. In the clubs, cafés, and on the Prado, hard things were said of her. She had already so sunk in public opinion that she but just escaped expulsion. Cristina, whose house had been attacked and partly burnt, had taken refuge with her daughter; she was accused of sharing in many of the lucrative and nefarious jobs perpetrated, and of enriching herself.

With difficulty Espartero and O'Donnell succeeded in getting Cristina out of Madrid. Isabella was declared to have been misled and misrepresented: and published a proclamation of a liberal and almost apologetic character; so a good understanding, to outward appearance, was restored between the crown and the nation.

## 1855.

*January* 13*th.*—New constitution of the Cortes proposed, but was not carried through.

*February.*—The Cortes vote that all power proceeds

* "Spain Under its Last Bourbon Sovereign."—The "New St. Pauls," December, 1868.

from the people. Liberty of belief permitted, but not of worship.

*March 10th.*—Don Carlos, Conde de Molina, died at Trieste.

1856.

*April 6th.*—Insurrection in Valencia and other places, instigated by the Moderado party, including that of the Court, with O'Donnell as leader, to overthrow Espartero and Progress.

*July.*—There was a Ministerial crisis, "which had been artfully prepared and provided for by O'Donnell." Espartero resigned on the 14th, retiring to Logroño, O'Donnell taking his place; but his nomination in the Cortes was rejected, which meant a want of confidence in his Ministry, there being ninety-three deputies present, with only one dissentient voice! A fearful insurrection broke out in Madrid on the 15th. After very severe fighting, it was overcome by the troops. Similar risings took place in Barcelona, Zaragoza, Gerona, St. Sebastian, and elsewhere, which were severely suppressed. The Carlists were in movement for Carlos VI.; the whole kingdom was declared to be in a state of siege, or under military law; but the people did not submit to the overthrow of liberty without a struggle.

The contest arose between the National Guard, composed of Progresistas and Democrats, and the troops; the former abandoned the struggle, but a portion of the populace continued it under the guidance of a bull-fighter, named Pacheta, who fell with a large number of his followers, there being a greater loss of life than in the O'Donnell revolt in 1854. Progresista power* was at an

* "Spain Under the Last of the Bourbons."

end, and the second period of despotic Moderado rule commenced. It was the constant aim of the Moderado party to restrain and abolish the principle of the nation's sovereignty, by striking at the freedom of the press and the power of the Cortes. Narvaez, the red-handed military tyrant, rode rough-shod over the Spanish people, and applied the most ruthless measures to quell every indication of discontent. The Queen was in the hands of a camarilla composed of confessors, impostors, Court favourites, and Ministers of an unscrupulous character, and had fallen in the esteem of her subjects. Shortly after the events of July a remarkable article appeared in the Paris "Moniteur," in which a significant approval was given of the dictatorial acts of O'Donnell, by which constitutional liberty was for a time overthrown in Spain.

*October* 12*th.*—O'Donnell found it convenient to resign to Narvaez. 19*th.*—Amnesty granted to political offenders.

1857.

*February* 1*st.*—Espartero resigned as senator.

*June and July.*—Insurrections in Andalusia; cruel executions; ninety-eight insurgents shot—of these, twenty-four at Seville.

*October* 26*th.*—Ministerial changes; Armero, Minister.

*November* 28*th.*—The Queen gave birth to a son, Alfonso, Prince of Asturias.

1858.

*January* 14*th.*—Isturiz, Minister.

*July* 1*st.*—O'Donnell, Minister. The Narvaez Cabinet* of 1856-7 moved so rapidly, in a retrograde sense, as

* "Spain Under the Last of the Bourbons."

to disgust some of its own friends. Parliamentary government had ceased; its fall was due, not to a vote of the Cortes, but to a Palace intrigue, the most frequent cause of Ministerial changes in Spain. O'Donnell returned to office in a liberal mood. He was in good luck, for at the moment of his greatest difficulties the aggressions of the Moors of the Riff furnished him with the means of a magnificent diversion. That was ground on which all parties would unite, and for a moment forget their political aspirations.

*September 20th.*—Cessation of the state of siege at Barcelona.

*December 1st.*—Joint expedition of France and Spain against Cochin China, caused by the persecution of Roman Catholics.

1859.

*October 22nd.*—Spain not receiving satisfaction from the Emperor of Morocco declared war. The British Government interfered, but in vain. Spain would resort to arms. O'Donnell went in command of the army to Ceuta, and was three months getting to Tetuan. Decisive and indecisive conflicts were reported.

1860.

*January 1st.*—Battle of Castillejos, a Spanish "Balaclava charge," in which Prim distinguished himself against the Moors.

*February 4th.*—The Moors were defeated near Tetuan, which place surrendered. There was a truce from the 16th to the 23rd.

*March 23rd.*—The Moors were beaten at Tetuan or

Guad-el-Ras. 26*th.*—Treaty of peace, by which the Moors had to pay an indemnity of four millions sterling.

The Kabylas got into collision at last with the prison-garrison of Ceuta, when Spain sought in 1859 to make the Emperor of Morocco responsible; he yielded. A cession of territory in the vicinity of Cueta was afterwards claimed by Spain on the ground that it was necessary for the protection of Ceuta. This was complied with, but on attempting to settle the boundary of the ceded territory, it was found that Spain demanded more than the Moorish government was prepared to grant.

There was much coquetting on the part of the Emperor in favour of Spain; a French squadron cruised on the African coast; there was also a British naval force in the same waters.*

O'Donnell gave details of two battles and twenty-three conflicts; he was made Duque de Tetuan; and Prim, Marques de Castillejos. O'Donnell on his return home was the hero of the day, and resumed his post as Minister. The strife of parties soon quenched the hopes of national peace, and the noxious influence of the Palace became more powerful than ever.

*April.*—The Carlists directed by Cabrera became active; General Ortega, the governor of the Balearic Isles, was instigated to land near Tortosa with 3000 men, and proclaim Carlos VI; his troops resisted, when he fled; on the 3rd he was made prisoner, and shot on the 19th. The "Young Pretender" and his brother Ferdinand were

* See page 305. Spain owed England £539,381 for stores, &c., supplied in 1837; Lord Palmerston intimated that this long-standing debt must be paid ere Spain went to war with Morocco; this was done, rather to the annoyance of Spain.

captured at Tortosa on the 21*st.*; to obtain their liberty they renounced their claim to the throne on the 23*rd.*

*June 5th.*—Don Juan asserted his right to the throne. 28*th.*—Montemolin and his brother Ferdinand being at Cologne, "annulled" their renunciation. In their letter to the Queen it was stated, "We retract the said act of 23rd April, 1860, and declare it null and void as if it had never been executed."

*August.*—The Emperor Napoleon became most friendly with the Spanish Government; his proposal to admit Spain as a "first-class power" was opposed by England, and so the scheme was given up.

Don Sebastian, cousin to the Queen, who had long since made his peace with her, and become Grand Prior of St. John of Jerusalem, married a second time—the Infanta Francisca, daughter of Don Francisco de Paula.

## 1861.

*January* 18*th.*—The Conde Montemolin and his wife died at Trieste. Don Fernando, third son of Don Carlos, also died about this period.

*May* 19*th.*—Annexation of Santo Domingo to Spain ratified. Slavery was not to be established.

*April.*—Rios Rosa strongly opposed the O'Donnell Ministry, exposing its doings. The Ministry thought to have closed the session in peace, when there arose a democratic insurrection in Loja, headed by a veterinary surgeon named Rafael Perez Alamo.

*June 4th.*—The Queen gives birth to the Infanta Maria del Pilar. Troops from Madrid entered Loja on the 4*th July.* The insurgents fled. 9*th.*—The Government issued orders to the provincial governors to act with

severity against suspected persons. Military law was established, against the express orders of the judges. Many executions and banishments followed.

*October* 31*st*.—The British, French and Spanish Governments agreed to combine in hostilities against Mexico for outrages against their respective citizens.

There can be no doubt the Emperor of the French was most desirous to put himself forward in "monarchising" Mexico, as well as other portions of Spanish America, in conjunction with Spain, but he had not sufficiently studied the subject.

The Southern States of America were most desirous to separate from the North, even by force of arms; and it was supposed by some that the South would be successful. In that case the monarchised Mexico, it was anticipated, would have a friend on its northern frontier.

The Emperor of the French was most anxious to assist the South, but England refused to go with him into this question; so the Emperor had to desist, but occupied himself about monarchising Mexico.

*November* 8*th*.—Cortes opened; the Queen was instructed to make fine promises. There was great excitement in the election of President of Cortes. Martinez de la Rosa, who was with the Government, obtained 214 votes: Rios Rosa, the Opposition candidate, only 89. The Progresistas reproached ministers on their political indecision. Olózaga was most energetic against them, and said that the nun Patrocinio was using undue influence with the Queen; that the Jesuits were rapidly encroaching; and that "hidden influences" were acting against the people and liberal views. However, O'Donnell managed to obtain 207 against 80 votes in favour of the Queen's address.

*December 8th.*—Intervention in Mexican affairs. Prim was entrusted with the Spanish contingent associated with France and England in the expedition to Mexico; he took Vera Cruz on the *17th.* However, he was one of the first to recognise the error of the proceeding, and executed a wise, if not a chivalrous, retreat. Prim tried to dissuade the Emperor Napoleon from the Mexican Imperial scheme.

1862.

*February.*—The Emperor Napoleon's project of establishing a monarchy in Mexico with Maximilian of Austria as Emperor, disapproved of by Spain and England, who refused to co-operate. The Mexican President, Juarez, took up arms against the French.

*April.*—Much Church property in course of sale.

*June 23rd.*—The Queen had another daughter, the Infanta Maria de la Paz.

*October 14th.*—José Alhama and Manuel Matamoros, Protestant propagandists, sentenced to ten years' imprisonment.

1863.

*January 8th.*—Juan de Borbon renounced his claim to the crown.

*February 26th.*—Resignation of O'Donnell.

*March 4th.*—Miraflores, Minister: a pseudo-Liberal and narrow-minded man. He arbitrarily restricted the right of meeting to such a degree that the exasperated Liberals abstained from voting at the general election.

The French occupied a portion of Mexico. The Emperor Napoleon and the ultra-Mexican Church party induced Maximilian to become Emperor of Mexico.

*September* 1*st*.—Insurrection in Santo Domingo.

*October*.—The Emperor of the French visited Queen Isabella, who gave her adhesion to the Emperor's scheme of a General Congress of European Powers, "to consolidate peace in the Old and New Worlds."

Spain, in concert with the monarchising views of the Emperor Napoleon, arranged that a professedly scientific expedition should proceed to South America.

The first ships sent were the "Triunfo" and "Vencedora," two large frigates, and the gun-boat "Covadonga," under Admiral Pinzon. After touching at the River Plate, they proceeded to the Pacific. They were well received in Chile and Peru, where they found large numbers of Spaniards settled; for in a lapse of over half a century the Chilians and Peruvians had begun to pardon the sanguinary doings of the Spaniards during the wars of the Revolution, or separation of these countries from Spain. Still, the Chilians and Peruvians were on the watch for the proceedings of the said scientific expedition, suspecting it of other views.

*December* 29*th*.—Don Francisco de Paula, father of the King-Consort, died; had married for the second time Doña Teresa Arredondo, in 1851. He was the youngest child of Queen Maria Luisa. When young he escaped from Madrid to assist in controlling the Mexican Revolution, and had embarked at Cadiz, when he was prevented from going, and was married to Carlota, the Neapolitan princess.

1864.

*January*.—A new Ministry, under Arrazola. *February* 12*th*.—The Queen had another daughter, the Infanta Maria Eulalia. *March* 1*st*.—The Ministry was under Mon, who distinguished himself by his oppression of the press.

*April.*—Rupture with Peru. Spain had not recognised the independence of Peru, and asserted she had monetary claims; she also used the term "Revindication," which meant, "If we cannot retake or monarchise the country, Peru shall pay us a good round sum at once." To these claims was added a fatal affray between some Spanish settlers and Peruvians—called by the Spanish Government the "sanguinary catastrophe" of Talambo—about which it called loudly for justice. 14*th.*—Admiral Pinzon, as a "material guarantee," took possession of the valuable Chincha Guano Islands (yielding to the Government over £3,200,000 annually), to hold them until Spain's claims were satisfied.

*June* 12*th.*—The Emperor Maximilian and his Empress Charlotte entered the city of Mexico. War was now active between the Imperialists and Republicans, the latter headed by Juarez.

*August* 13*th.*—General Prim exiled for conspiring against the ruling powers in Madrid.

*September* 13*th.*—Mon resigned to Narvaez.

*September* 26*th.*—Queen Cristina returned to Spain—with the object, it was generally considered, of collecting all the money and valuables she could, and sending them out of the country.

The British Government recognised the independence of Santo Domingo, whereupon Narvaez advised the abandonment of the contest there, which the camarilla instigated the Queen to refuse. Narvaez resigned. The Marquis Pavia, Isturiz, and Miraflores failed to form a Ministry, so Narvaez had to resume office.

*December.*—Cortes opened on the 22*nd.* Narvaez "deplored" the difficulties with Peru.

1865.

*January 27th.*—Peru found it convenient to pay to Spain some £600,000. The Chinchas were restored,* and peace declared between the two Governments. However, the opposition parties in Peru (called by the Spaniards insurgents) declared war against their own Governments; which proceeding Chile was favourable to. The Spanish Admiral Pinzon was recalled. He was succeeded by Admiral Pareja.

*February 20th.*—Queen Isabella ordered the sale of the Crown lands, giving up, it was said, three-fourths to the nation. She managed, however, to well fill her own coffers.

*April 10th.*—"Student Liberal riots" in Madrid. Several persons killed.

*May 5th.*—Santo Domingo relinquished.

*June 10th.*—Suppression of a conspiracy in Valencia to "re-unite" Spain and Portugal. *19th.*—Resignation of Narvaez. *22nd.*—O'Donnell forms a "Liberal" Ministry. His government recognised the Kingdom of Italy; nearly all the Spanish Bishops protested, but he stood firm.

*July 20th.*—Father Claret dismissed from Court. (He returned 25th December.)

The Chilians could not help perceiving that the real object of Spain in the Pacific was not of a scientific nature; when a portion of the press used rather strong language against the Spanish Government, and even against the Queen. A mob, it was said, had insulted the Spanish Minister Tavira's flag at Santiago, but Tavira, seeing it

* The Spanish man-of-war "Triunfo" was accidentally burnt at the Chinchas.

was not the act of the Government, returned to friendly relations. *July 25th.*—The Spanish Minister Tavira's settlement of difficulties with Chile (of 20th May) were disavowed by the home Government. "The Ministry of O'Donnell did not hesitate to sacrifice the credit and honour of an old functionary who stood in the way of their designs."

*September 9th.*—The Emperor of the French visited the Queen of Spain at San Sebastian; she returned the visit at Biarritz on the 11th.

*October 3rd.*—Disturbances at Zaragoza against the Government; suppressed.

The Spanish Admiral Pareja was in command of a powerful fleet in the Pacific, consisting of more than half the effective naval force of Spain—viz., the "Villa de Madrid," 50 guns; "Blanca," 40; "Berengela," 32; "Numancia," an iron-clad of 50; "Resolucion," 40; "Almanza," 48; "Covadonga," 3 of 68; "Vencedora," and "Marques de la Victoria," with 5 big guns each; and some small craft.

On the *18th* of *September* (the 55th anniversary of the Independence of the Republic of Chile), Pareja arrived in the Bay of Valparaiso with two frigates, and handed in his credentials as Minister Plenipotentiary accompanied by his ultimatum, which was looked upon by the Chilian Government as a declaration of war. He insisted on the Spanish flag being saluted by 21 guns; a declaration of satisfaction for "offences" committed against Spain; the faithful fulfilment of a treaty of peace, &c.; which Chile refused. On the 24th Pareja declared the coast of Chile blockaded. He captured and burnt some Chilian merchant vessels; but on the *26th November* Captain Rebolledo Williams, in the Chilian man-of-war, "Esmeralda,"

14 guns, captured the "Covadonga,"* the firing in the action being heard at Valparaiso. At this most unexpected success on the part of the Chilenos, Admiral Pareja committed suicide† by shooting himself. He was succeeded by Commodore Casto Mendez-Nuñez.

The United States Government protested against the French army being in Mexico.

*December 27th.*—The Queen opened the new Cortes. The great Progresista party still abstained from action in public affairs.

Don Carlos Maria, then 17 years of age, who was in Paris, protested against the "revolutionary" doings of his father, Don Juan de Borbon. (Carlos Maria married Princess Marguerite of Parma, 4th February, 1867.)

## 1866.

*January 3rd.*—Military insurrection against the Government at Aranjuez, headed by General Prim. Martial law proclaimed in Madrid on the 4th. Riots at Barcelona on the 9th. State of siege in New Castile and Arragon. Prim failed in his designs. He entered Portugal and laid down his arms. The insurrection ended on the 20th.

*February 17th.*—After much correspondence between the Spanish and Portuguese Governments on the subject of Prim's residence in Lisbon he left for England.

* Named from Covadonga—near Santender, in Asturias—the cave of Auseva to which Pelayo fled, like David to that of Adullam, whence the Gothic line emerged. This was the Marathon of Spain, when 300,000 Moors *are said* to have been vanquished. The peasants point out the rivulet which ran red and swelled with the blood of the infidel.

† One of the members of the "Scientific Commission" also committed suicide; another, the Photographer, went mad. Very little was said by Spain about their proceedings in the Pacific.

### WAR IN THE PACIFIC.

After taking the "Covadonga" from the Spaniards, off Valparaiso, the vessel was put under the Chilian flag, and went with the "Esmeralda" to the Island of Chiloe for safety, also hoping to be joined by the Peruvian men-of-war, and to try their power against their common foe. Admiral Mendez-Nuñez sailed to Chiloe in search of the Chilian vessels, finding them at Abtao; but after a day's hard fighting, and receiving some damage, he went back to the bay of Valparaiso to repair. He returned to Chiloe, now accompanied by the "Numancia," iron-clad, when he found the "Covadonga" and "Esmeralda" had changed their position, which was unfavourable for his attack, so he gave up this project, and made the best of his way to Valparaiso, bombarding its defenceless port on the 31st March, throwing into a city of 80,000 souls over 3,000 shot and shell; but not one person was even wounded. The ruin of the public buildings was the chief object; however, property was destroyed to about £2,500,000, the greater portion belonging to foreign merchants. Having satisfied "Spanish honour," Mendez-Nuñez sailed north to Peru, and on May 2nd bombarded Callao and its batteries from seven frigates and other craft. It was a hard day's fight, but the Spanish fleet was signally repulsed, and with serious damage. Mendez-Nuñez was badly wounded,* and his loss was about 150 men. The greater number of Spanish

* On his return to Spain he was created Marques del Callao. He died in August, 1869.

ships, now crippled, had to bear away across the Pacific for repairs. This "war in the Pacific" cost Spain over a million sterling, and the hatred of the South American Republics; Peru two millions; and Chile one million. Spain subsequently set up a claim on Peru for the expense of the war of twelve millions sterling. All the Spaniards settled in Peru and Chile had been ordered off, to the great detriment of their affairs.

From report of Commodore Rogers, of the United States Navy:—The Spanish fleet advanced in two divisions, one under Mendez-Nuñez, composed of the "Numancia," "Blanca," and "Resolucion," to attack the batteries on the south; the "Villa de Madrid," "Berengela," and "Almanza" went to the north. The fleet had about 144 guns. The Peruvian batteries had 45 guns—five Blakeleys of 450, and four Armstrongs of 300, the others being 32's.

The "Numancia" fired the first shot at 12.45 p.m. At 2 p.m. the "Villa de Madrid," having had a shot through her steam-chest, ran out of the fight,* and was taken in tow by the "Vencedora." The "Berenguela," following in her track, got a shot through and through of ten feet square. The "Resolucion" and the "Blanca" ceased firing at 2.30 p.m. and retired, leaving the "Numancia" and "Almanza" to continue the combat. These retired at 4.45 p.m. The loss of the Spaniards was considerable. Mendez-Nuñez got eight wounds. The Peruvians had

* A friend of the author's, William Smith (son of George Smith, of Iquique, Peru), commanded a Blakeley gun, carrying a 450-lb. shot, in the Ayacucho battery. He was fortunate enough to inflict most serious damage on two of the Spanish men-of-war. One of his shots went through the steam-chest of the "Villa de Madrid," killing, wounding, and scalding some thirty of the enemy. He was promoted to a Majority for his services.

about eighty in killed and wounded. They had to deplore the loss of the Minister of War, Galvez, who was killed by the explosion of a shell amongst some powder. The defeat of the Spaniards was complete. Three of their ships were so damaged that their cannon were thrown overboard.

*June 22nd.*—The great military revolt in Madrid. A regiment of artillery and part of a cavalry regiment rose in their barracks, and after killing several officers, marched through the streets, calling on the people to rise for "Prim and a Republic." O'Donnell was Minister, and assisted by Narvaez, was prepared for this outbreak, and at the head of a large force met and drove back the revolters. He attacked their barracks with cannon, taking the place by storm. Many of the mutineers were killed on the spot, and 500 prisoners taken; 170 were shot the same day. It was one of the fiercest conflicts witnessed under Isabella's reign. One account said that "the dead were to be reckoned by thousands (a human battue)," also that 1,500 persons were cast into prison or transported. On the *26th*, one account says 21 sergeants, another 60, were shot down by the cruel order of the Government. There were revolts of a similar nature at Barcelona and other places. From this date* commenced the final period of misgovernment; O'Donnell inaugurating it by bringing a bill into the Cortes for the suspension of constitutional guarantees at the will of the sovereign.

*July 13th.*—The Empress Charlotte of Mexico left for France to solicit help of the Emperor, who refused. She went to Rome, was ill-received by the Pope. She became insane. The French Emperor was shortly after-

* "Spain Under the Last of the Bourbons."

wards obliged by the United States to withdraw his troops from Mexico.

O'Donnell resigned in consequence of a Court intrigue, and was succeeded by Gonzalez Bravo,* who had Narvaez with him. Severe measures were resorted to of fire and sword against the Liberals. O'Donnell left Spain "to the ungrateful Queen, the bleeding nun Patrocinio, Father Claret, the priests, and Marfori," and took no further part in public affairs. 31*st*.—Gonzales Bravo ordered the governors of provinces to suppress every sort of meeting with "pitiless ferocity."

*August*.—The freedom of the Press abolished.

*September* 23*rd*.—The permanent Court Martial condemned 34 persons to death, and 54, including many literary men, to transportation. Spain was in the throes of a governmental reign of terror.

*October* 3*rd*.—"Re-establishment of tranquillity" declared at Madrid. "Reform" of municipal institutions decreed on account of the revolutionary proceedings of the authorities.

*December* 11*th*.—Queen Isabella and her husband visited the King and Queen of Portugal in Lisbon; they are thus described.† She is like photographs of her, except that there must be added a nose and lips as if stung by a wasp. She has, however, a frank, pleasing expression; her manners are singularly agreeable and withal queenly. She is very fond of church doings, is gracious, and easy of access. Whatever she may be, she never had a fair chance of being an honest woman; she is as much

* A most disagreeable-looking man, with all the sneaking, blood-thirsty look of a baffled wolf; Narvaez not much better. Both detested by the people.—"La Corte, 1863 to 1866."

† "La Corte, &c., 1863 to 1866."

sinned against as sinning. In her younger days, it is believed, she was encouraged in all sorts of excesses by her mother, who was anxious to keep the power in her own hands by any means within her reach.

The King-Consort looks like a boy who has been well whipped, and is almost lost to sight behind his wife's portly figure; he is a meagre, weak-looking little fellow, with a high treble voice, which makes him still more ridiculous.

*December.*—On the night of the 29-30*th*, Narvaez caused a number of Deputies, including Rios y Rosas, then president, to be arrested, for having drawn up an address to the Queen complaining of the arbitrary acts of the Government. Serrano, President of the Senate, was also arrested for presenting a similar sort of address; most of the arrested prisoners were transported. To prevent further trouble of this kind, the Government resorted to a general election, to take place the forthcoming March.

## 1867.

*January.*—Four civilians condemned by Court Martial to the galleys—two for twenty years, and two for sixteen, for the "clandestine publication of newspapers."

*February* 16*th.*—The Captain-General of Madrid published a bando, "decreeing death as the punishment of the authors and printers of clandestine writings, as well as against capitalists who supplied them with money."

*March.**—The elections resulted in a Chamber prepared to vote almost unanimously whatever the Minister proposed. The Liberals were crushed, but pondered deep on

* "Spain Under the Last of the Bourbons."

revenge. Not six members of the new Chamber spoke or voted against Government. By this time all the chiefs, and a great many of the rank and file, of the Constitutional party were prisoners or refugees. Gonzales Bravo had no difficulty in passing his well-known law of "public order," which it has been said surpassed in severity anything known in the times of Ferdinand VII. and Calomarde. It placed in the hands of the civil authorities, from the governors of provinces down to the most ignorant village alcalde, power to expel from their homes, during a period of forty days, persons reputed to be dangerous; after that time a residence was to be assigned to them.

*April 11th.*—These despotic proceedings of the Government were directed to be the law of the land by 245 against 4 votes! *21st.*—Amnesty to the rioters of 1866.

*June.*—The Emperor Maximilian and others made prisoners by the Juarez or Republican party, and shot June 19th; the Mexican Republic was again in existence.

When the French, under Marshal Bazaine, left Mexico early in the year, Maximilian should have been forced to retire with him; but a false idea of honour caused him to remain, and he became a victim to the monarchizing ideas of the Emperor of the French.

*August.*—About the 15th, insurrection broke out in various parts, attributed to Prim: it failed through want of proper organisation. It appeared in Arragon, Catalonia, Valencia, Tarragona, and on the borders of Murcia and Castile, where bands of armed men were congregated; and in some places the mayors of towns and functionaries joined in the movement; but as the military were for the Government the rising was abortive. One principal leader, Pierrad, deserted by his followers, escaped into France; some were taken prisoners and executed. The Government

said the revolt aimed "at the destruction of social order and existing policy, including, as consequences, the constitutional monarchical catholic principles, and the dynasty, as symbol and practical application of the whole," and that the failure was "caused by the indifference and good sense of the population, the noble determination of the army, the zeal of the authorities, and the confidence Her Majesty's Government have never ceased for an instant to feel and to inspire"!

*November.*—Martial law abolished. On the *5th* occurred the death of General Leopold O'Donnell, Conde de Lucena and Duque de Tetuan, at Biarritz; he was born at Santa Cruz de Teneriffe in 1809.

A public funeral was given to his remains in Madrid, when all political parties attended; Narvaez addressed the bystanders, giving his former rival the highest praise for his many virtues: "I was always his sincere friend, but politics kept us wholly apart. It is not for me to hope for better times, for I am an old man, and have but a few years to live; but let me earnestly entreat those who will survive me to emancipate themselves from this species of intolerance, and while they continue to do their duty to their Queen and country, let them not neglect the cultivation of personal and private friendships, for it is by the efforts of all united that the country can alone be regenerated, and its real greatness achieved."

O'Donnell* was a tall, well-made man, head and shoulders over almost every one in Madrid, and showed his Irish extraction. He had those excessively blue eyes, whose colour is visible even at a distance, a cruelly determined mouth, and a great square jaw, like a prize-

* "La Corte; Letters from Spain, 1863 to 1866."

fighter. He was a man one could not pass without noticing, he had a face which betokened such an iron will; and yet there was an incongruity about it, for his brow was open, and his eyes had a good-humoured twinkle about them that went oddly with the heavy jaw, and would seem to suit some amiable paterfamilias better than him.

Navarro, in his "O'Donnell y su Tiempo," observes: —"He was the leader of the Unionists; was not great as a warrior, nor particularly as a statesman; he had not the honesty of Espartero, nor the determined consistency of Narvaez, nevertheless the conqueror of Vicalvaro in 1854 was astute and patient.

*December 27th.*—Cortes opened by the Queen.

## 1868.

*January 22nd.*—Proposed arrangement of the national debt; creditors to take twenty per cent. less!

*February.*—There had been Carlist movements, and the getting of "Carlos VII." (the eldest son of Don Juan) into Spain. On the *18th* a Carlist band in Navarre had a skirmish with the Civic Guard, and were worsted; 3000 portraits of "Carlos VII." were seized.

*April 23rd.*—Death in Madrid of General Narvaez, the Prime Minister. Narvaez was born at Loja, in 1800. He was the best-hated and the best-abused man in the Peninsula. He imbibed the same hatred of France which the boy Hannibal was taught to cherish against Rome. His Ministry, after Espartero had to leave Spain, "betrayed that bloodthirsty and remorseless cruelty of which the recollection has never died out." His administration was an open reaction against popular constitutional principles, as represented by Espartero and the Pro-

gresistas. In 1865 his accession, promoted by Court intrigue, led him to use fire and sword unsparingly. He was indifferent to the shedding of the blood of those who were hostile to him. Small and slight in figure, the clear thrilling voice with which he spoke in the Cortes, added to the earnestness and passion of his words, gave him power and influence as an orator. The day after his death there was a new Ministry, under Gonzales Bravo.

*May 13th.*—Marriage of the Queen's eldest daughter, Isabel, to the Conde Girgente, brother of the ex-King of Naples.

*June.*—Non-official steps were taken to induce Carlos Luis to recognise Queen Isabella.

*July 7th.*—Isabella had to sign the decree placed before her by Gonzalez Bravo for the exile of her sister and the Duke of Montpensier; they went to Lisbon. After this step had been taken the generals of the Liberal party were also exiled. This was the commencement of a crisis, and an important document was issued by the Central Committee to the nation, signed by Prim (then residing in London), Aguirre, Sagasta, and Lasala as vice-president, of a formidable movement against the Government. They said :—" The present reactionary Ministry, in whose hands, by order of the Crown, the destiny of the country had been confided, was an arbitrary Government. For many years martial law had been the substitute for a Constitution. The Central Committee saw with sorrow the miserable condition of Spain; they were conscious of the importance of any action on their own part, and responded to the wishes of the nation. Liberty in Spain, as now administered, was an insult to humanity. As the traditional obstacle, the Court, was ever in opposition to Liberal principles, they would look

for the downfall of an order of things, strong yesterday, but tottering to-day, through the scandal of its own vices. Public opinion was on the watch, and if its light were not sufficient to dissipate the darkness of old times, it would become a flame in the hearts of the people. The *habeas corpus* law, civil and political freedom, economy in public expenditure, independence of the municipalities, uniformity of legislation, reforms in the army and navy, re-establishment of juries, rights of election, freedom of the press, religious toleration, liberty of education, right of public meeting: these were the principles on which the Liberal party would base the future happiness of Spain."

*July* 12*th*.—General Pezuela, Conde de Cheste, held a review in Madrid, pointing out to the troops "the folly of military demonstrations." The Queen was at La Granja, 13*th*.—General Serrano and others ordered into exile to the Canary Islands. About the 26*th* the "Villa de Madrid," at Cadiz, was to receive the banished generals and others, and take them away from Spain, when a conspiracy was formed on board to land them on some part of the coast. The Government observed: "The energy of the Commandant frustrated this movement; Admiral Mendez-Nuñez resigned, and all the superior officers followed his example."

*August* 3*rd*.—The Duchess of Montpensier signed her protest to Queen Isabella, in Lisbon, on leaving the "Villa de Madrid," which took her, her husband, and family there; the Duchess demanded, "that reparation shall be as public and solemn as the offence committed;" and she also observed: "The country is agitated, the revolutionists use your name as a rallying flag, and make of it the aim of their machinations. If unhappy Spain is now in a difficult situation, we are not the primitive cause of it.

The violation of the fundamental law of the State, as well as the eternal principles of justice, accomplished by the measures adopted by your Majesty's Government, we energetically protest against."

Gonzales Bravo,* a man of boundless audacity, thought he could govern without the military element, but soon found his mistake. Concurrently with his tyranny the misconduct of the Palace had continued to excite the indignation of the people. Trade was at a standstill, and capital lay idle because none would venture on commercial or other enterprises where confidence was completely wanting. Public works, which would have employed many, remained unexecuted for want of funds, and because contractors could not be found willing to pay the exorbitant bribes demanded by those who had their allotment. The necessaries of life rose in price, and mendicancy increased beyond precedent.

The recognised royal family of Spain consisted of Isabella II., her husband, and the Queen's five children; the Queen-Dowager Cristina; the Duke and Duchess of Montpensier and their family; the family of Don Francisco de Paula; Don Sebastian and his family. The unrecognised consisted of the widow of Don Carlos (Princess of Beira), Don Juan and his wife, their two sons, Carlos Luis and Alfonso, and the wife of the eldest. The principal officials of the Court were—Conde de Puñorostro; Marquesa de Novaliches; Monseñor Iglesias; Marques de Novaliches; Duque de Aumada; Marques de Santiago; M. Berleta, &c. President of the Council, Bravo Gonzalez; for the Colonies, Marfori. Sir J. F. T. Crampton was the British Minister. Population of Spain and the Islands,

"* Spain Under the Last of the Bourbons."

15,673,481. Army, 151,668 officers and men; navy, 138 men-of-war, with 1121 officers, 12,986 sailors, 7980 marines; merchant vessels, 4859, with a tonnage of 395,270, employing 37,787 men. Population of the colonies, 4,746,233, including whites, mulattoes, and slaves.

When Mr. Warren de la Rue fixed his apparatus among the Spanish mountains in August, the priests thought the whole was the work of the devil, and the Kew photo-heliograph was eyed with special suspicion; so the church bells were set a-ringing, and the flocks called to prayers, to ward off the tricks of the Father of Evil.

*September.*—The formidable rising against the Queen, her dynasty, and the Bravo Government had been arranged in such manner as to meet all emergencies.

Admiral Topete* entered fully into the views of Prim, Serrano, and their adherents, so the navy could be counted on by the revolutionists. The first important document was Prim's proclamation—"To arms! To arms! We have suffered long enough. The patience of nations has its bounds of degradation. The Spanish nation can no longer continue to deplore prolonged evils. The hour of revolution has sounded an heroic remedy. Men sufficiently sensible to foresee and respect the aspirations of the future will be able to effect, without any violent shocks, the transformation of the country. Arbitrary rule has prepared the storm which to-day will be let loose, and will sweep away all those barriers which have formed obstacles to

* A distinguished naval officer. He is said to be a Mexican by birth. He had assisted in the bombardment of Valparaiso and attack on Callao. His political sentiments were for a change of royalty, and of seeing the Duchess of Montpensier as Queen, or her husband King.

progressive advance, which constitutes the life of nations. To arms, citizens! to arms! Let the war-cry to-day be the cry of all good Spaniards. Let us have in the great Liberal community but one object in the struggle—Victory! and but one banner—the regeneration of our country! Let us, then, immediately destroy that which time and progress ought by degrees to have altered; and when peace shall be re-established, the different parties will unfold their banners, and the people, in the exercise of their sovereignty, will be able to constitute itself and judge between them. Generals Serrano and Dulce should be found, like myself, amongst the brave sailors, who, animated by love of country, have commenced the movement at the head of the fleets, but doubtless some accident by sea has retarded their arrival.

"Spaniards! Soldiers and Civilians! the country needs our efforts. Let us go with ardour to the combat. Let us again show the proverbial pride of the old Spanish character; let us regain the esteem of foreign nations."

About the 18*th* the fleet at Cadiz under Topete declared against the Government, the "Zaragoza" firing twenty-one guns, thus publishing the event. The Duke and Duchess of Montpensier knew of these matters, and had placed a considerable amount of money at the disposal of the navy and troops. Some in the navy joined the rising, under the idea that the Duchess of Montpensier was to succeed Isabella.

General Serrano had placed himself at the head of the troops who followed the Liberal banner on the 18*th*, when Gonzalez Bravo resigned the Ministry to José Concha.

On the 19*th*, Prim, on his arrival in Cadiz, issued the following:—"Spaniards, since my proclamation was written the movement has been seconded at San Fer-

nando, La Caracca, and Cadiz, aided by the Cantabrian regiment, the marine infantry, and the corps of carbineers. The province of Cadiz, with its land and sea forces, is already in arms."

About the 20*th* appeared the proclamation of the "Provisional Revolutionary Juntas" of Cadiz and Seville, the former signed by Serrano, Prim, Dulce, Serrano-Bedoya, Caballero de Rodas, Topete, Nouvilas, Primo de Rivera, all officers of rank; the latter by Antonio Aristegui.

The Seville proclamation demanded universal suffrage, liberty of the press, liberty of education, freedom of worship, free trade, abolition of the punishment of death, individual safety guaranteed, abolition of the present *bastard* Constitution, and temporary substitution of that of 1856, with alterations, suppression of monopolies and privileges of the clergy, Constituent Cortes, &c.; Viva la Libertad! Down with the Dynasty! Viva the National Sovereignty!

Serrano and Prim had already 20,000 men under arms, and Topete commanded the fleet.

Manuel Concha issued in Madrid a proclamation for placing the whole kingdom under martial law.

Queen Isabella and her family were at San Sebastian. She asked for armed assistance from the Emperor of the French, which he declined.

26*th*.—Prim issued a proclamation:—"Let our cry be the Federal Republic! Down with tyranny! Let us for ever get rid of monarchs who have always brought us misfortunes. Public plunderers must disgorge their ill-got booty. Spaniards, show yourselves the worthy descendants of the Cid, of Padilla, of Lanuza, and Riego. A month will free you of your present oppressors."

28*th*.—The royal troops, under Novaliches, were on the

left bank of the Guadalquiver, near Cordova; Serrano's forces on the right bank, with defences on the bridge of Acolea.

*29th.*—The battle of Acolea, which was gained by the Revolutionists. Novaliches was very badly wounded, and he lost about 2000 men. Isabella's continuance on the throne of Spain was now most problematical. The Royalist troops retired towards Madrid, Serrano following. On hearing of the discomfiture of Novaliches, Concha resigned his Ministry, placing the power in the hands of a Provisional Junta. He had previously addressed the Queen, declaring that, owing to her refusal to return to Madrid without her favourite, Marfori, her Ministers could no longer guarantee the "situacion." The Queen, on learning the successes of Serrano and Prim, had also to accept the resignation of Concha, ordering Pezuela, who was with her at San Sebastian, to summon the members of the State Council, form a Ministry,* and promulgate liberal measures; but it was too late.

The British residents in Madrid presented a congratulatory address on the *29th* to the Junta, "on the birth of a new nation, and of a revolution which has been accomplished in so splendid a manner." The Junta replied that it would "cordially stretch forth its hand to the English people, who gained their liberty two centuries ago. The Austrians and the Bourbons had stifled our vitality. Now we are emerging from the ditch into which they had hurled us. The Junta thanks the noble sons of Albion."

Granada had pronounced, whereupon the garrison with-

* During the first 25 years of her reign there were 28 sessions of Cortes and 18 general elections. She had had 47 Presidents of the Council and 529 Ministers, of whom 78 were of the Interior.

drew. Three of Topete's frigates had sailed to Carthagena, when the Royalist troops evacuated the town.

The Carlists were agitating, particularly in Arragon and Navarre. The Jesuits were trying to induce the Basques to arm in favour of the Queen.

General Calonge had a fight with the revolutionists of Santander, but got the worst of it.

### DEPOSITION OF THE QUEEN.

30*th*.—The Provisional Government pronounced the deposition of Queen Isabella II., and "Down with the Bourbons!"

At 5 p.m. on the 29*th* Isabella's carriage came to the door of the Maison Mateu as usual; she heard of the defeat of Novaliches; she wanted to go at once with her son, the Prince of Asturias, to Madrid. Too late! Her attendants urged her departure for France. At 5 a.m. on the 30*th* several railway omnibuses came to the door of her residence, and were loaded with royal luggage, some of the packages bearing the words, "Hendaye" and "Pamplona"—indications of royal indecision. Every one looked miserable except the fallen Queen, who remained impassible. On the previous evening she wrote to Espartero:—"You have always saved my dynasty; you shall save it again. As to myself, I am no longer anything, and I wish for nothing; but here is my son, the Prince of Asturias, whom I throw into your arms. What you have done for me you shall do for him." She tore up the letter, and abandoned all idea of appealing to Espartero.

The train arrived at Hendaye at 11 a.m. on the 30*th*,

with Isabella, her husband, and four children, Don Sebastian, her uncle, and household. The Emperor of the French, the Empress, and the Prince Imperial, met Isabella, who could only offer ceremonious condolence. Her train consisted of three carriages; through the windows could be seen Marfori, arrogance and hatred bursting from his visage, and Father Claret,* her confessor (Archbishop of Trianaopolis). The Queen had a look of contempt—fallen grandeur was visible in her face.

At Bayonne Gonzalez Bravo begged to see Isabella, who gave him a rough reception. She proceeded to Pau, taking possession of the old castle of Henri Quatre. She issued, under date of the 30*th*, a protest. The following are extracts :—" A conspiracy unexampled in the history of Europe has precipitated Spain into the horrors of anarchy. The cry raised by the rebels in the bay of Cadiz, and repeated in some provinces by a portion of the army, re-echoes in the hearts of the great majority of Spaniards as the sound portending a tempest. Even my greatest enemies cannot suppose that a public power like mine, which emanates from so high a source, can be conferred, modified, or suppressed, by the intervention of material force, under the blind impulsion of regiments seduced from their allegiance. Until that time arrives, as legitimate Sovereign of Spain, I will seek in the territory of an august ally the security necessary to enable me to transmit to my son my rights, strengthened by thirty-five years of sacrifices, vicissitudes, and tender affection. A monarchy whose history is one of fifteen centuries of contests, victories, patriotism, and greatness, cannot be

* He was subsequently accused of having carried off from the Escorial vases and objects worth £200,000.

destroyed in fifteen days of perjury, infidelity, and treason. I rest in the firm and patriotic hope that right, legitimacy, and honour may be maintained, and that your spirits and efforts will ever be in unison with the energetic decision and maternal affection of your Queen."

At Pau Isabella passed her time between the little drawing-room and the chapel where the ex-Bishop of Cuba said mass daily. Cristina, her mother, who had been visiting her large estates in the Asturias when the first blow was struck, joined her. Sister Patrocinio, the "bleeding nun," who had been in a convent at San Sebastian, was got into France; she was described as a most unprepossessing, hard-featured woman, with a wicked, weird, sinister look about her.

Many caricatures and fly-sheets were published on the expulsion of Isabella: two, headed "Jucio de Isabel de Borbon" and "La Tortura de una ex-Reina," were terribly bitter against her and the doings of her Governments.

Most deposed sovereigns * are able to indulge in dreams of restoration; but no one, at least in Spain, desires or believes possible the restoration of Isabella, or of her dynasty. No private virtues are there to redeem a long period of misrule. She must herself feel this, and that she is doomed to life-long exile.

*October.*—The Revolutionary Junta considered a *fête* necessary in celebration of the successful termination of the rising, observing:—"Dynastic revolutions are always national revolutions, and the army and the people desire to show the world that they are interested in consolidating the triumph of individual rights, reconquered at so great a price, and public liberty definitively assured."

* "Spain Under the Last of the Bourbons," December, 1868.

Part of the programme of the *fête* for the 3*rd*:—The vestibule of the Palace of Congress to be ornamented, and the device placed of "Long Live the National Sovereignty." All the troops, after having been reviewed by General Ros de Olano, will defile before the Palace of the Congress, the Junta and others being there. General Serrano made his public entry into Madrid; his reception was most enthusiastic. The troops and people fraternised, singing Riego's Hymn of Liberty. Spain, it was said, was "mad with joy."

One party desired at once to unite Spain and Portugal into an Iberian Empire; another, Spain to be a Republic, Central or Federal; another, a Constitutional Monarchy.

4*th*.—Provisional Ministry formed till the assembling of a Constituent Cortes—Serrano to be President: Prim, War; Ribero or Olózaga, Foreign Affairs; Sagasta, Commerce; Castelar, Public Works; Cantero, Madoz, or Figuerola, Finance; Aguirre, Justice. Topete was with the fleet. The idea of Montpensier being King, or his wife Queen, was at once abandoned. The Duke of Edinburgh, Prince Amadeus, Prince Albrecht of Austria, the King of Portugal, and others, spoken of as candidates for the crown of Spain.

5*th*.—The Carlists had been active, and young Don Carlos was on the frontier, but did not find any organised body to help him.

7*th*.—General Prim made his public entry into Madrid, and was received with great demonstrations. In reply to an address he said:—"Friends and countrymen, do not expect a long speech from me. I am weary and exhausted with fatigue and emotion; besides, I am no missionary to spin you an elaborate discourse. Accept my thanks and congratulations. Viva la Libertad! Viva el Pueblo!

Down with the Bourbons!" He said that eight days sufficed for the nation to overthrow a dynasty three hundred years old.

The movements of the revolution were under the direction of a committee, most of whom were Freemasons. In Madrid alone there were forty-nine masonic lodges, having twenty-one thousand members.

8*th*.—The cry in the streets was, "Down with the Concordat! Down with the Tyrants of Rome!"

10*th*.—The official recognition of the Revolutionary Government by the United States, through its Minister, Mr. Hale.

12*th*.—The populace burnt the Concordat in front of the house of the Nuncio. Garrido, in his "Rio Religioso," wrote: "Crush without delay that cunning and aggressive reptile, the Black Power—the enemy of the liberty of nations." He supported freedom of worship, civil marriage, &c.

13*th*.—Decree for the suppression of the Jesuits, and confiscation of their property, and that they leave Spain within three days. On the 14*th* it was reported that more than three hundred Jesuits—monks, and priests—had already crossed the frontier into France.

17*th*.—Prim was shot at in Madrid; he ordered the culprit to go free. The Junta of Seville authorised the Minister of the United States to build a Protestant church in that city.

The Provisional Junta adopted the following declaration:—

"The form of Government is the question of the greatest importance to the good organisation of the State, it being the expression of the national will;

"The decision as to the form of Government should be

amply discussed, and a plebiscitum, without previous deliberation, would not be the expression of the reasoning will of the nation;

"The vote of a plebiscitum, before the judgment of the electors has been enlightened by discussions in public, would not be the conscientious expression of the national sovereignty;

"Considering the circumstances which preceded the revolution, the people have not had the opportunity of enlightening their conscience as to the most appropriate form of Government, or judging exactly what person should be proposed to fill the highest post in the State;

"And important as it is to hasten the meeting of a Constituent Assembly, it is equally desirable that the suffrages of the people should be enlightened in order to be free;

"The Junta proposes to the Provisional Government to declare that, in conformity with the programme agreed to at Cadiz, it belongs solely to the Constituent Assembly to decide the fundamental question of the future form of Government."

19*th*.—Lorenzana sent a circular to the representatives of Spain abroad, in which he explained the causes, the character, and bearing of the revolution. Spain had, under the rule of her last two monarchs, presented the sad spectacle of a loyal and generous people lavishly devoting their wealth and their blood for the benefit of kings who repaid these sacrifices with the blackest ingratitude. The people patiently waited until their cup of suffering was overflowing. That moment having arrived, the people took their stand upon the ground of modern popular right. The circular treated on the question of religious liberty, stating that the useless legal obstacles hitherto

thrown in the way of other creeds would disappear, even as they had already disappeared from the habits of the people. The Minister said that the revolution could cause no alarm to other countries, and therefore the Government was in hopes that foreign nations would not refuse to entertain friendly relations with revolutionary Spain.

Prim reviewed 15,000 troops. Before the review, he issued the following to the army :—

"Soldiers,—Since the course of events called me to take part in the Provisional Government, I have waited the opportunity of directing my voice to you, to say that the country recognises the fact that to you she is indebted largely for the resurrection of her rights and liberties, and confides to you their preservation.

"The religious compliance with your respective duties is the best guarantee of order, and of those laws which affect the rights of citizens. The nation is passing through a great crisis, which will soon have its happy termination in the definite constitution of the country. The army will form an impenetrable wall, which will protect and permit the peaceful operation of the people for the perfect re-organisation of the State ; and when you return to your hearths, after having been vigilant sentinels of the national flag, you can proudly wear the title of citizens with the honour of having secured the true exercise of the national sovereignity. I salute all on uncovering my head before your banners and standards to-day. Many of you took part with me in the glory of the campaign in Africa. Vicissitudes of one kind or another have separated us at times, and reunited us at others, according to the unforeseen accidents of our country. But all of you know me, and we have learned reciprocal appreciation."

*20th.*—Prim issued an order, granting to the Royalist army which fought under General Novaliches the same advantages and promotions as were accorded to the troops who took part in the revolution.

Don Carlos addressed an autograph letter to each of the European sovereigns.

"Sire,—My descent and the present state of Spain make it my duty to notify to your Majesty the following act of abdication executed by my august father:—

"'Having only at heart the happiness of the Spanish people, I believe it to be my duty to abdicate; I do abdicate, and transfer all my right to the crown of Spain to my well-beloved son Don Carlos de Borbon y de Este.

"'Paris 3rd of October, 1868.

(Signed)

"'JUAN DE BORBON Y DE BRAGANZA.'

"If the Almighty and the course of events should place me on the throne of Spain, I shall strive honestly to combine the useful institutions of the present age and the indispensable institutions of past ages, leaving to the general Cortes, freely chosen, the grand and arduous task of bestowing on my dear country a Constitution, which will, I hope, be both permanent and Spanish in its character.

"Whenever that happy day arrives I will draw as close as possible my relations personally with your Majesty, as well as the relations of your country with mine.

(Signed)

"CARLOS DE BORBON Y DE ESTE.

"Paris, October 21st, 1868."

26*th.*—The populace of Madrid burnt a scaffold in the public square, as a demonstration against capital punishment.

28*th.*—Arranged that the Constituent Cortes should meet in December.

29*th.*—Some churches and convents demolished; the "Virgins, apostles, patron-saints, and saintesses" at the corners of streets removed.

*November* 9*th.*—Decree authorising the Rev. G. Fitch to erect a Protestant church in Madrid.

13*th.*—Sebastiano Olózaga drew up a manifesto, that it was the unity of action of the Progressists, Unionists, and Democrats that would secure the success of the revolution, and lead to a constitutional monarchy.

29*th.*—Republican demonstration in Madrid.

30*th.*—Movement in Cuba to declare the independence of the colony.

*December* 5*th.*—Alarming insurrection at Port St. Mary, Cadiz, said at first to be "reactionary," and that Isabella's money and the influence of the clergy had arranged the outbreak against the Government. The insurgents constructed barricades, fighting began, but the troops were too powerful, and dispersed them.

The same party commenced in Cadiz, some three thousand in number; they opened the prisons, and put arms into the hands of seven hundred felons. The troops had hard conflicts for ten hours; one account stated that "more than a thousand bodies of the killed were burnt." The rebels seized the foreign consuls, to keep them as hostages in guarantee of bombardment. The consuls brought about an armistice with General Caballero de Rodas. The rebels' proposition for terms of capitulation was not entertained; they became exasperated, and even

menaced the consuls. Rodas made preparations to bombard Cadiz, when they got disheartened. On the 12*th*, Caballero de Rodas issued a proclamation, in which it was stated that a rebellion, promoted by hidden enemies, had stained with blood the streets of Cadiz, and that he had come to suffocate it; that if the insurgents wished to save their lives they must give up their arms; that old men, women, and children were to leave the city by noon of the 13th, as he would bombard and attack. The insurgents came to terms, gave up their arms, and the troops occupied Cadiz. One Fermin Salvochea was a principal ringleader; he was examined, but gave evasive answers.

The Duke of Montpensier offered his services to the Government on this occasion; he had already set out from Lisbon, when he received orders to return.

When the conflict at Cadiz was at its height, Señor Genez was commissioned by the Republican Committee of Seville to hold conference with the Government, and was accompanied by many republicans, including the ultra democrats, Castelar, Figueras, and Chao, and told Serrano it was a Republican movement, and urged that the Republican element should be admitted into the Ministry.

The Marques de Viluma became president of an association for protecting the unity of Catholicism, but it was considered to be the means of paving the way for "Carlos VII." A priest in Jerez de los Caballeros, in Estremadura, raised a band of forty followers, to the cry of "Long live the Inquisition." On the 17*th* Colonel Miramon, a Carlist emissary, was arrested at Medina Sidonia. At Sanguesa, in Navarre, there were vivas for "Carlos VII.," "Cabrera," and the monks.

19*th*.—Antoine d'Orleans, Duke of Montpensier, issued a manifesto from Lisbon of a very liberal nature, asking to be allowed to return to Spain, also in the hope of paving his way as a candidate for the throne. He was replied to by Don Enrique in no very courteous terms.

These communications have been thus rendered with a truthful comicality:

"Dear Prim,—I am one Spaniard; you're another. Will you allow me and my wife to return to Spain? Should there be no immediate opening for me in any public office, I shall be happy to devote my talents to you in a private capacity. I can black boots, groom horses, or wait at table, and you would find my wife invaluable either in the dairy or still-room. Only let us return!

"Yours,

"MONTPENSIER."

"Dear Prim,—I understand Montpensier has been writing to you to let him come back to Spain. Don't! He is a humbug, and only wants to return in order to foment disturbances, so that he may the more easily lay his hands upon the crown. Now, with me it is different. I am honest to the backbone; in fact, the only one of our family who is worth anything. I long once more to serve our beloved Spain, and to resume my old place in the navy of my native land. Can I come? You will find me quite an acquisition.

"Yours,

"HENRI DE BOURBON.

"P.S.—I adore the Republican form of Government, and Washington has ever been my model."

About this period, at the Zarzuela Theatre, Madrid, there was a grand patriotic night, when a new "Himno," on "Abajo los Borbones," was given. The following is extracted:—*

"Of such anointed stock then comes Fernando, seventh of the name,
Who rules with vulgar cunning, and fills our cup with shame.
So ran the course of Bourbon's race, its fruit a people's hate,
'Till now a woman exiled weeps the chastening hand of fate.
Farewell to patriot blood—to scaffold, tears, and groans,
She's fled who held as tyrant's seat Pelayos' spotless throne.

"'Down with the Bourbons, down!'
The very stones do cry;
From end to end of Spain they shout,
'We'll conquer or we'll die.'
Without a home shall wander,
As the scornéd Hebrew race,
As an outcast from her country,
She of the shameless face."

*29th.*—One thousand more troops ordered to suppress insurrection in Cuba. There were some politicians who thought that Spain would have been wise to have acknowledged the independence of Cuba, and thus have made friends with a country which might be so important to her, particularly in a commercial point of view.

At page 467, Vol. I., is given a summary of the "Revolution of September," to show more clearly the relationship between Spain and Portugal; for an Iberian Empire or union was mooted; Dom Fernando sought for as King of Spain, also the King Dom Luis; the marriage of Dom Luis' brother to a daughter of Montpensier, and these offered as King and Queen of Spain; even the Emperor of Brazil was spoken of.

At the end of December a repetition of the Cadiz out-

* *Athenæum*, January 9th, 1869.

break commenced at Malaga, with the customary barricades and fighting; here a priest named Romero was a leader. On the 29*th* General Pavia issued an address ordering the insurgents to their homes, if they did not wish for the horrors of a siege. On the 31*st* Caballero de Rodas arrived, and in a severe address to the "Citizen Militia" declared the place to be in a state of siege; that all arms were to be surrendered during the day, and one day given for foreign consuls and well-disposed persons to leave the city. Some of the insurgents rushed to seize the guns of the Espigon battery; there was a hard fight here of nearly two hours. Other bodies of troops were attacked by the insurgents, who knew that, if they did not come to terms, they would be seriously attacked the following day.

1869.

*January* 1*st*.—Early in the morning the struggle commenced. At 9 a.m. the chief of the insurgents announced surrender, but demanded a delay so as to make certain terms. A quarter of an hour given to them to lay down their arms not having been acceded to, bombarding commenced by the ships-of-war and the artillery directing their fire upon the Trinity quarter, where the insurgents had mainly concentrated themselves. An hour later Rodas' troops attacked this locality, and after very severe fighting, the troops carried the principal positions. Rodas lost forty killed and two hundred wounded; more than four hundred insurgents fell, and six hundred were made prisoners.

2*nd*.—"Order had been completely established in Malaga." The Minister, Sagasta, issued a circular referring the disturbances at Cadiz and Malaga to Bourbon

intrigues, and stating that the priests freely avowed themselves Bourbonists.

*4th.*—The French Government declared it would remain neutral in regard to Spanish affairs.

*6th.*—Prim issued a circular to the military authorities throughout the country; its tone was conciliatory but decided:—

"The enemies of the Revolution, symbolised by the Provisional Government, have insidiously spread the information that it is intended to disarm the Voluntarios de la Libertad, under pretext of reorganising their forces. The statement is false and calumnious. The Government will consider and esteem the citizen forces, when constituted in orderly element, as the firmest support of liberty. They will, however, be inflexible in combating those who use the arms the country has confided to them against the authorities and the order of things created by the revolution. Fortunately they have not had such acts to lament except in Cadiz and Malaga.

"JUAN PRIM."

*9th.*—The Provisional Government addressed the nation on the subject of the form of government they proposed, namely, the Monarchical.

The following is a portion of the manifesto:—

"Now that the Spanish people are the arbitrators of their own fate, and that they enjoy the most extensive freedom, the Government thinks it is its duty to reiterate the reasons on which it relies for hoping that the representatives of the national sovereignty will approve its conduct." After having reviewed its acts, decrees, and measures, the manifesto says:—"The Government is fully resolved to maintain the electoral field free from all ille-

gitimate influence in the same way that it has already repressed by the strength of justice and of arms audacious attempts at intimidation. The Government appeals to the patriotism of all the citizens. Let all of them record their votes, if the ground is free; let them protest, if it is not so. The Government sincerely wishes that the representatives of the nation should erect a throne, surrounded with its indispensable prestige, and with the natural prerogatives that reduce rivalries to impotence, while they assure public order—a throne which should be a solid and durable column of our liberties."

Signed by—F. Serrano, Duke de la Torre, President; J. Prim, Minister for War; T. Topete, Minister for Navy; T. A. de Lorenzana, Minister of State; A. Romero Ortiz, Minister for Justice; L. Figuerola, Minister of Finance; P. M. Sagasta, Home Minister; M. R. Zorrilla, Minister for Agriculture; A. L. de Ayala, Minister for Colonies.

The National Republican Committee issued their manifesto for a Central or Federal Republic, observing as to the above, "It may be supposed to be their exhibition of principles, or of no principles at all—it says very little, if it is all they have to say. Not a word of argument, not an attempt to convince the public of the desirability of a Republic. It was a tirade against the Provisional Government," and was signed by Prense, Pierrard, Figueras, Chao, Garrido, Castelar, Valero, and others.

15*th*.—The elections commenced for the formation of a Constituent Congress terminating on the 18th; the deputies for a monarchy in a great majority. "The electoral body gave its ultimatum for monarchyof many forms; there was a heterogeneous mass of Democrats, Legitimists, Absolutists, and Foreignerists."

An address in favour of "Carlos VII." by General Cabrera to the people of Navarre appeared:—"I do not ask the people to decide by their votes; our victory must be won on another field—the field of battle. It is by this means that we shall soon reach the object of our desires."

Juan Ignacio, Cardinal Moreno, Archbishop of Valladolid, had his pastoral read in the churches of his diocese. Touching on the freedom of worship, he said:—

"There is another thing they wish with criminal intent to plant. It is called religious liberty, whose legitimate and natural manifestation consists in wishing to bring to Spain all the false religions in the world. They have begun to carry into effect this infamous resolution in this religious city of Valladolid, where some heretics have established themselves, who dedicate themselves to distribute tracts and pamphlets, and to sell mutilated and corrupt Bibles, in order to propagate the errors of Luther and Calvin, as well as other new ones. This word toleration, or religious liberty, signifies the same that liberty does on the lips of the seditious who aspire to tyranny—a vain and deceiving liberty, which Tacitus (Book 4, 73) calls, 'The specious name under which he who aspires to dominate over and enslave his fellow creatures has never failed to honour himself.'"

*24th.*—First Protestant religious service performed in Madrid.

### ASSASSINATION OF THE CIVIL GOVERNOR OF BURGOS.

On the morning of the *23rd* it was known that the governor, Gutierrez de Castro, had received orders to take an inventory of the art treasures in the cathedral. At 4

p.m. he proceeded to the cathedral, accompanied by a notary, a goldsmith, and an agent of the police. He was coldly received by the Archbishop, and by other members of the clergy present. After a slight altercation the governor commenced taking the inventory, whereupon the Archbishop, in great anger, shouted out "Thieves!" which cry was taken up by the priests. In a few moments the governor was surrounded by the mob, who had been admitted; he was insulted and beaten. One of the mob felled him to the ground by a blow on the head with a hatchet, whereupon the assassins threw themselves upon the body, and dragged it to the foot of the staircase at the principal gate of the church, thence into the streets, where they stopped for a moment to cut off the nose, tear out the eyes, and mutilate it in a horrible manner. He was still alive, but was at last killed by his head being severed from his body. Troops arriving, some were arrested who were escaping. The Archbishop and several priests were arrested. On the *25th* the Government issued a proclamation to the nation on these barbarous doings at Burgos, in which it was observed: "If the reactionists should appeal to force, if the crime of Burgos is a challenge, the Government, in the name of the nation, will raise the glove—it will follow step by step the menaces of the enemies of the revolution, to prepare energetically to crush them once for all." (One of the murderers was condemned to death, but after great intercession was transported.)

*26th.*—Monster meeting in Madrid against the Papal Nuncio, on hearing that Spain's envoy had not been received by the Pope. The papal arms were torn down and burnt; the Nuncio fled to the French Embassy.

Fifteen thousand Spanish ladies, instigated by the

priests, addressed Prim, begging him not to permit religious toleration in Spain; he replied in the negative:

"And I'll send your priests to Hades,
Dare they such sweet eyes to dim.
Fifteen thousand Spanish ladies
Smiled, and left Don Juan Prim."

31*st.*—Second Protestant religious service in Madrid. Hundreds were unable to obtain admission, when multitudes retired to the cathedral.

*February.*—Among the valuables found in the Chapel Royal, Madrid, were upwards of three hundred relics, for which countless sums had been paid, including saints' garments, bones, finger and toe nails, some of "Christ's drops of blood and sweat," nails of the cross, a piece of the manger of Bethlehem, most having been purchased by Isabella. At Reus the Alcalde solemnised some thirty marriages. A Nuncio arrived at the Nunciature, accompanied by Señor Rivero, and was received by the civil Governor of Madrid.

A document appeared in Paris, called the manifesto of Queen Isabella. The Conde Espeleta, Grand Master of the Household of their Majesties, declared it was apocryphal. "If so, one is tempted to ask who fabricated it, and for what object?" The Queen was made to say: "She had been the happiness of the Spanish people; that she had extended their commerce and industry, which incapable and heretical men have endangered, precipitating the nation from the high rank in which she had placed it; that she had been very tolerant and very gentle; and that she was the symbol of liberty." Don Enrique came out in the *Pays* with a long letter, which, instead of washing the "*linge sale*" of her family, befouled it still more. He concluded: "The best manifesto the Queen can draw up

in the Pavillon de Rohan is to send her coarse confessor, Father Claret, about his business; it is to put an end to the favouritism which the King accords to the mysterious Meneses; and it is separating herself from the all-powerful Marfori. If the King and Queen resolve to do this, they would show that they have at last entered on the good path."

11*th*.—Opening of the Constituent Congress with great ceremony by Serrano, whose address was received with great enthusiasm. He observed:—"The Government recommends the Cortes to be united in the task before them. It has adopted and proclaimed with ardent faith the fundamental principles of the most Radical Liberalism, namely, liberty of worship, of the press, of public education, and of public meeting and association." Referring to the insurrection in Cuba:—"The revolution was not responsible for this rising, which is due to the errors of past Governments, and we hope it will be speedily put down, and that tranquillity, based upon liberal reforms, will then be durable. Slavery will be abolished, but without precipitation, and without compromising the prospects of the Antilles."

Rivero was elected President of the Congress by 168 votes; the Republican candidate obtained 50.

18*th*.—Six thousand more troops sent to suppress the insurrection in Cuba.

It was supposed by many that Dom Fernando of Portugal would accept the crown.

22*nd*.—Resignation *pro formâ* of Serrano and the Ministry, and re-establishment in office by the Constituent Cortes.

Don Enrique, determined to revenge himself upon Montpensier, wrote the following about him; he also sent another letter to the Government:—

"The statement published by several journals, that I had challenged the Duke of Montpensier to fight a duel, is incorrect, and I add that I should have been glad to seize that occasion, not only to give a lesson to my cousin, but also to punish in him the aspirant to the throne of his own sister-in-law. As Montpensier is immensely rich, the rumour has been set about that he bribed a chief of the Spanish navy. Allow me to protest against such an allegation, which is not only a calumny against the chief in question, but a calumny on the entire navy, of which I have the honour to form part. The Spanish people have no desire, and they never had a desire, that foreigners should be imposed on them. It is not in a duel that I expect to meet Montpensier; and if he ever makes up his mind to issue from the walls of his closet, and come down on the battle-field, he will find me in the front rank of his enemies, and making straight at him. The terrible drama of Mexico is forgotten by no one. Let not ambition, then, so dazzle the Duke of Montpensier as to make him forget, in the hope of a few hours' reign, the fate of the unfortunate Maximilian. I close this letter with a word to the foreign agents, who flatter themselves they see in the pretensions to the throne of Castile of the father-in-law of the Count de Paris a sort of fireship against the French Empire. Pack up your baggage, and take back your hero and your countrymen! The Spanish nation has no need of the ridiculous permission of this French Duke to establish on the wider basis of progress, of religious tolerance, of civilisation, and of liberty, its political laws. Let the foreigner remain at home!"

"I will declare the truth to the Government, though I draw upon my head hatred and vengeance. Foreign

agents insinuated themselves amid the confused elements out of which came the rising of September last year; that participation was from the very commencement with the accord of certain of our own countrymen. Those persons who are for the restoration in France of the Orleans family imagined the combination of a Montpensier monarchy. And Spaniards of a certain position, forgetful of our history, forgetting the policy of Louis Philippe towards our country and our liberties; forgetful, too, of our martyrs, and of the blood which reddened every grain of sand in our country during the long struggle for our independence, accepted that plan! The greater number signed it for money. It is a shame to say so. The others signed with the pious will to contribute to the overthrow of the Emperor Napoleon. Such was the pact, and the symbol was Montpensier. Those who paid for the conspiracy, dissatisfied at the delay, now harass the persons they bought, and demand from them the restitution of the money or the fulfilment of their promise. Others detach themselves, and will detach themselves, in order to produce political embarrassments. The Montpensierists believe that the door is open to them in the direction of Cadiz since the lesson given to the Andalusian people. But it is necessary to deceive them, or to shoot down the populations of Madrid, Barcelona, and other Spanish towns. But, reverting to the compact above mentioned, it would be more noble for the Spanish Orleanists, instead of making use of Montpensier, to throw aside the mask, declare war against the Emperor, and come to France to get up their *pronunciamiento*."

In a letter from Santiago de Compostella, in February, it was stated that it had long been the hotbed of neo-Catholic intolerance, and that the revolution of September

had roused fierce anti-Christian action. "Of all the sable genii its Archbishop, Cardinal Cuesta, stands out in bold relief as the arch-bigot of Spain. He has published a strangely fanatical work, 'The Immorality of Protestantism,' containing an *exposé* of the 'devilish heresies, Lutheranism, Anglicanism, and Calvinism;' and says the Protestant Bibles are notoriously falsified and abridged. The Cardinal's work is in the form of questions and answers; it might have done for the Romanists of Luther's time, but not for the present period."*

*March 2nd.*—Fifteen members of the Constituent Cortes appointed to prepare the draft of the Constitution; the Republicans did not take part in the vote.

*11th.*—Bill for an external loan of ten millions sterling passed by the Cortes.

Xerez was in movement concerning the conscription to take place on 1st April; barricades were formed, but order after a time seemed to be restored, when the Ayuntamiento published, on the 17th, that only a few days since they had agreed to pay the ransom of the young men who might be drawn; however, the Republican Committee of the city "reproved" the above.

In the afternoon fresh barricades were made, and armed men disposed for resistance. Two companies of soldiers went to the barrier of Santiago, the centre of operations. They were received with a volley; they replied by firing in the air. Observing the rioters still intended resistance, the troops opened fire. After an hour's firing the troops carried the barricades, and the rioters fled; there were some killed and wounded on both sides. During the night barricades were erected; at five, a.m., they were

* "Protestant Progress in Spain," June number of "Temple Bar."

attacked, and before eight the rioters were overcome, with some rebel loss. Of 673 prisoners taken, 299 were sent to the prisons of Ceuta.

17*th.*—Fatal duel with swords between Celestino Olózaga, a deputy and first secretary of the Cortes (nephew of Salustiano Olózaga), and the Conde de Jara, a Peruvian by birth.

Olózaga was in a chair at the theatre; Jara had rested his stick on it; Olózaga moved, when the stick was displaced. Olózaga said, "Excuse me," which was not considered sufficient. Later a quarrel ensued. Olózaga offered his card, and said, "If we are to fight, let us have something to fight about," and struck a blow. The next morning they fought, and Olózaga was killed. To mark its respect for him the Cortes adjourned. He was buried with great ceremony, Serrano, Prim, and Topete attending. Jara fled, and was subsequently exiled. (April, 1870, Jara was allowed to return.)

25*th.*—First public Protestant celebration of the Lord's Supper, in Trinity Church, Seville. The service was performed by the Rev. J. B. Cabrera.

28*th.*—Fifty Spaniards received communion in the Protestant rite at Madrid.

30*th.*—The Committee presented the draft of the New Constitution: a very different one to any Spain had ever had—limited monarchy, a senate, and deputies, the latter to be dissolved triennially.

31*st.*—First reading of the Constitution.

The Government troops in Cuba suffered reverses.

Independently of 170 carriages, horses, and mules left by Isabella in Madrid, her wardrobe was valued at £40,000. Among the articles she demanded were—the portrait of the sacristan of the convent of Las Salesas,

scapulary worn by Sister Patrocinio, and a book belonging to Father Clery. The jewels gone out of the coffers of the State were valued at £1,200,000. A mass of documents was found, comprising letters of Godoy, Charles X., Ferdinand VII., Cristina, and Isabella.

*April.*—The Carlists were trying to raise money in Paris and London; bonds of 2000 francs were offered for 250 cash, payable "when his Majesty Carlos VII. attains the throne." Carlist bands had crossed the frontier from France.

*2nd.*—The Government notified that the late disturbances at Xeres must be attributed to Carlists, Isabelinos, demagogues, and filibusters.

*4th.*—Decree for the introduction of Bibles printed in foreign languages.

*7th.*—Announcement to the Cortes, that Dom Fernando of Portugal had positively refused the Spanish crown.

Under date, Caprera, April 20th, Garibaldi wrote to the Deputy Garrido, from which the following is extracted:—"Spain requires no protectors. She raises her head erect, and boldly confronts any nation; and is she so deficient in men that, Diogenes-like, she must seek for one over the surface of the earth? Has she not Espartero, Orense, Castelar, Pierrard, and other Republicans, who are the admiration of all honest men? Out of these name a dictator, or king, if you are so fond of the title. But name him at once; do not wait two years. If the assemblies of the great cities had come to this resolution at once, we should not now have to regret the massacres of Cadiz, Malaga, and Xeres. The Cortes must do that which these meetings failed to do. Such a revolution would be worthy of the eminent men in whose hands is now the destiny of Spain. I am a Republican, but not a Republican

when they are in a useless minority. Circumstances must be considered; but we are ready to salute the great triumph of Republicanism, if you will carry it out, and vindicate the rights of man."

10*th.*—Sympathy in the United States House of Representatives with the revolutionists of Cuba—98 against 25 votes. 4*th.*—Count Balmaceda, commanding Spanish forces in the Eastern department, issued the following from Bayamo :—Every native male over fifteen found away from his residence without sufficient cause will be executed; every building where a white flag is undisplayed will be reduced to ashes.

21*st.*—Proposal in Cortes for proclaiming a Republic passed over without a vote.

*May* 1*st.*—A solution of parties in Spain:—Moderados (Tories), Isabelinos (Ultra Tories), Esparteristas (Liberal Whigs), Republicans, Democrats, Absolutistas (Carlists), Progresistas or Reformers, Radicals, and Alfonsistas; there were also other *istas.* "The constant complaint is that Spain has too much of three things: of the army, the clergy, and government officials. A Republic might keep them in check, but whoever had the bayonets would be the master."

4*th.*—A Carlist conspiracy discovered at Barcelona, and some forty persons arrested.

5*th.*—This was a memorable day. In the Cortes was passed, by 163 to 40, a vote by which the public or private exercise of any other than the Roman Catholic form of worship was guaranteed to all foreign residents in Spain, without more limitations than the universal rules of morals and right. If any Spaniards profess any other religion than Catholic, all the foregoing privileges are accorded to them. Thus has intolerance been subdued.

The debates in the Cortes were most interesting and instructive. The Ministers maintained their position with firmness and conciliation; the Carlists were not very eloquent or logical; the Canon of Vitoria, Monterola, was remarkable for his peculiar eloquence, and hostility to every creed but his own—freedom of worship was a dangerous and wicked innovation of "Catholic unity." Castelar's grand and masterly reply to Monterola took the whole country by storm. His speeches were truly astonishing. In one he said—"I have abandoned Romanism for philosophy and reason." Here is another of his observations:—"Great is the religion of power, but greater is the religion of love. Great is the religion of implacable justice, but greater is the religion of pardoning mercy. And I, in the name of that religion,—I, in the name of the Gospel, come here to ask you to write in the front of your fundamental code—Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity amongst all mankind."* "Castelar's *forte* is passion; he relies for success on sympathy, and there is that in his earnestness, candour, and genuine uprightness of ends and means which makes him perfectly irresistible. He has the noblest heart under the biggest, if not, perhaps, the soundest head. It is well worth a man's while to travel from London to Madrid only to hear him."

The young Monarchist, Echegaray, exhibited electrifying eloquence, and at one stride divided with Castelar the honour of being the finest orator in Spain. He denounced

* Victor Hugo said, over the grave of his friend in exile, Kesler, on the 8th of April, 1870, at Guernsey:—"I have been a Royalist and a Catholic. No one is responsible for the beginning. The error of the beginning renders more meritorious the truth of the end. Kesler had been the victim of that hateful teaching, which is a sort of snare held out for childhood, which conceals history from youthful intelligence, which falsifies facts and warps the mind—the result being to blind generations."

the intolerance of the past and the horrors of the Inquisition, bringing into his speech a description of the discoveries just made in the course of excavations going on in the Calle Ancha de S. Bernardo, for the new square of the Dos de Mayo (the day of the massacre of the French in 1808), where the pick of the labourers had come across the old Quemadero, the "Smithfield," or burning-place of the Inquisition, and turned up human ashes, bones, hair, burnt rags, &c., mixed up in one heterogeneous mass with pieces of charred coal and wood. He observed:—"The Quemadero is a grand book, and it opens its pages to us in the strata of calcined human bones, earth, coal—then earth, bones, coal again, and so on. Not many days since I saw a boy turning over the rubbish with a stick, and he drew from it three grand discourses in defence of religious liberty—a piece of oxydised iron, a human rib almost calcined, and a plait of hair burnt at one of its extremities."*

9*th*.—The deputy Orense asked about Gibraltar being given up to Spain. The Minister, Lorenzano, was not in a position to give any answer! In the "Himno" sang last December at the Zarzuela theatre, the decima began with

"While stealthy claw of panther on Calpe's rock to spring."

* The Inquisition was founded by Dominic of Castile, early in the thirteenth century, for the suppression of the Albigensian heresy, viz., Protestantism. Llorente, one of its secretaries, states that 31,912 perished in the flames; 17,659 were burnt in effigy, died in prison, and escaped; and 291,450 were sentenced to the galleys and imprisonment; to which may be added more than 100,000 families who emigrated to escape the tribunal. The Inquisition had been the active instrument of the ruin of Spain; it caused the expulsion of the industrious Moors, and 800,000 Jews left the country. In 120 years Spain lost three millions of its industrious inhabitants.

13*th.*—Orense proposed a "Confederate Republic," in a speech of three hours; rejected by 182 to 64 votes.

14*th.*—Article 32 of the Constitution agreed to—that the sovereignty resides in the nation.

The Isabelinos, under the direction of the Conde de Cheste, were active. The Carlists, under Don Carlos and Cabrera, were in movement.

18*th.*—Laureano Figuerola, the Finance Minister, presented his estimates for the financial year, from 1st July, 1869, amounting to £29,870,000. Compared with revenue, this was a deficit of £8,223,122. Another estimate gave the revenue at £21,000,000; expenditure, £30,000,000. The debt to England alone was about £30,000,000.

21*st.*—Close of the great and important national debates, and adoption by the Constituent Cortes of the new Constitution, and for a monarchy—214 votes to 71. No Bourbon could be called to reign in Spain. There were great rejoicings throughout the country.

25*th.*—Castelar threw blame on the colonial clauses, and said, alluding to Cuba, "If Spain had followed the example of England in her dealings with Canada, the liberties which the colonies claim for themselves would have prevented the outbreak of the insurrection."

28*th.*—The tobacco and salt monopolies abolished. They brought in a revenue of £6,000,000. Other monopolies done away with.

29*th.*—General Caballero de Rodas was to supersede General Dulce as captain-general of Cuba. The Minister of Finance stated that the ex-Queen Isabella owed cash to the treasury to the amount of £36,000, and that 750 pictures had disappeared from the National Museum during the former administration.

*June* 1*st*.—The Cortes passed the whole draft of the Constitution by 214 votes to 55. All the deputies, except the Carlist, signed it. A Regency to be established.

6*th*.—Promulgation of the Constitution; 30,000 troops and volunteers paraded before the assembled Cortes.

The Duke of Genoa was Prim's candidate for the throne; it was said he would have had no great objection to Prince Napoleon. Serrano would not particularly oppose the Prince of Asturias, but then he was a Bourbon. Topete came out boldly for Montpensier.

10*th*.—Montpensier and family acknowledged the new Constitution, and returned to Spain.

"In the Constituent Cortes," writes the Madrid correspondent of the *Times*, "on the occasion of the resignation by the Provisional Government of their powers into the hands of the Assembly, Serrano, Prim, and Topete spoke in succession. Serrano acquitted himself creditably of his own part of the task. He has been the handsomest, and is still the best-mannered gentleman in Spain. As he stood by the side of Prim, the two heads were almost on a level, and both men would be considered in England as somewhat below the middle size. Serrano, though past the meridian of life, has a fresh, clear complexion. He looks brave, bland, benevolent, a man fit for an easy life, 'unable,' as he says, 'to say no.' He speaks better than he reads. Prim's speech was the event of the day. Prim looked well—as well as his earthy complexion will allow him to look. He is about fifty-six years old; he exhibits no signs of failing strength; he has a quiet but shrewd, wakeful look; he speaks with marked emphasis, with a peculiar vibration at the end of each sentence, meant, as it were, to work an impression and command a plaudit at every pause. 'The fallen dynasty,'

he cried out, 'has fallen, never to rise again, never! never! never! A Bourbon restoration, the restoration of any of the Bourbons, is impossible! impossible! impossible!' And as one of the bystanders asked, in an undertone, whether the Duke of Montpensier was included in the ostracism, and was to be reckoned among the Bourbons, Prim coldly observed that 'he did not consider himself bound to answer a man who exhibited so much ignorance of geneaology.' This ought to be held sufficiently decisive. The speech of Admiral Topete was also apologetic. The admiral said that he and his crews were placed between two duties—what they owed to their Sovereign, and what they owed to their country—and that the alternative, however cruel, could not long be doubtful; they declared in favour of the freedom and honour of Spain. Topete is a tall man, strongly built, almost athletic; still in the prime of life, with not a streak of gray in his raven-black hair. He looks good-humoured, sailor-like. His appeal was frank, heartfelt, and was responded to by an outburst of '*Viva la Marina!*'"

15*th*.—The Regency Bill passed, by 193 to 45, in favour of Serrano. On the 17th he took the oath. Prim became President of the Council. When all was still, Serrano knelt on a red velvet cushion, while Rivero said, "Do you swear to keep, and to cause to be kept, the Constitution of the Spanish nation of 1869, and the laws of the country, not looking in what you do to anything but the good and the liberty of the country?" Serrano replied, in a voice trembling with emotion, "I swear; and if in what I have sworn I do anything to the contrary, I ought not to be obeyed." He then made a speech, concluding with these words: "The monarch whom the Constituent Cortes may elect may commence his reign

prosperously and happily for the country, to which I have consecrated all my anxieties, all my watchfulness, and my whole existence." Rivero ended his speech with: "General Serrano may count on all Spaniards; for the Cortes, the army, the militia—all of us—together with the Regent, have from to-day onwards but one single banner—all for the country!"

18*th*.—Conde de Cheste was arrested at Aranjuez, as an Isabelino agent.

23*rd*.—Don Enrique wrote from Paris to the Minister of State, recognising the new Constitution; that he never would be a pretender for the crown, and stated: "I am not Louis Philippe, calling himself a simple citizen, to possess himself of the throne of Charles X. . . . . There exists more profit to humanity and glory to a public man in the illustrious model of Washington. The legislator creates, whilst the hero of war scatters mourning in the midst of blood-stained laurels; he constantly destroys and stains liberty with his fatal personality."

28*th*.—Caballero de Rodas arrived in Cuba. He stated his motto was "Spain, Justice, Morality."

30*th*.—Zorilla, the deputy, recognised the fact that a *political* revolution had been accomplished in Spain, but the *economical* had not been achieved.

*July*.—Don Carlos de Borbon y de Este, in a manifesto, declared for "Liberty, the daughter of the people, and not for Liberalism, the son of Reform." Here is a passage from it, which was a letter to his brother Alfonso, then in the Papal army:—"I cannot present myself to Spain as a pretender to the crown. I believe that the Spanish crown has already been placed on my head by the holy hand of the law. I was born with that right, which at the same time constitutes a sacred obligation, but I desire

that that right be confirmed by the love of my people. My obligation is, moreover, to consecrate to that people all my thoughts and all my strength; in one word, to die for or save them."

13*th*.—Estimated that the sales of ecclesiastical property at Barcelona alone would amount to £15,000,000. The Government had been disposing of much municipal property to keep itself in funds.

Several priests, sergeants, and officers arrested in Madrid. They were in possession of appointments signed by "Carlos VII."

14*th*.—Prim presented the new Ministry to the Cortes.

17*th*.—The Emperor Napoleon recognised the Regency. Señor Romero went as Minister to England.

20*th*.—Plot, supposed to be of Isabelino origin, discovered to assassinate Serrano, Prim, and Rivero; arrests were made mainly of Carlists; Pedro Ruiz, a priest, was captured, fire-arms and cartridges, and bonds of the loan of "Carlos VII.," found in his house. Packages of uniforms and arms for Carlist purposes were also seized in Madrid.

21*st*.—Don Carlos left Paris, and entered Navarre the next day.

24*th*.—Decree for martial law, of the tenor of that of 17th April, 1821 (drum-head court-martial), in reference to conspiracy against public tranquillity. General Saburnage headed the Carlists in La Mancha; on the 26*th* he was attacked and routed. Carlist rising in Pamplona quelled.

29*th*.—Carlist bands dispersed.

30*th*.—The ex-nun, Carmen Valderrabaños (Carlist), who had been arrested, died in prison. It was rumoured she had been poisoned by one of her party, so as not to make any revelations, for several persons were implicated. When

arrested she was in possession of many portraits of "Carlos VII.," letters from Cabrera and his agent, Aparasi, a white and red flag bearing the portrait of "Carlos VII.," bonds of loan for 30,000 francs, dozens of white boynas (Basque caps), &c. There was a rising in Toledo for Don Carlos, and shouts of, "Let us rise and take him to Madrid!"

There had been considerable fighting in Cuba; the insurgent General Quesada had destroyed the communication between Puerto Principe and the coast; he had 9000 men. There had been minor contests in General Jordan's district, in which the Spaniards had been repulsed. At Villa Clara the Spanish loss was over 200 men, ammunition, stores, and provisions. General Jordan's force was increased by recruits from the former slaves, and the Spanish troops—6000 more troops sent to Cuba.

An extraordinary outrage occurred on the 20th by fanatics on H. D. Jencken, a barrister, at Lorca, in Murcia. He had been warned that an attack would be made, under pretext that he was one of the suspected 'Tioi del Sain,' or child-stealers, butchering them, and using the fat of their entrails to repair telegraph wires. He says he was attacked by three men, who wounded him severely with their knives, one thrust breaking his upper jaw, and he was stunned by a stone. Recovering, he was again stunned and fell; he was then seized by the beard and hair, and dragged along the road, his hands tied behind him, with cries of "Cut his head off! Rip up his belly;" accompanied by further wounds and ill-treatment. "The Regent wrote to me expressing his profound regret; the Ministers, leaders in the Cortes, the press, and people of Spain have been unanimous in the bitter condemnation of the crime committed. The townsfolk of Lorca have joined in this outburst of indignation."

*August* 1*st*.—Defeat of Carlists near Talavera, believed to have been under the leadership of Don Carlos himself.

2*nd*. — The Minister, Manuel Silvela, issued an important State paper—a circular to the ambassadors of Spain abroad; it professed to explain the progress and position of the Revolution. He concluded by observing:—"I send this despatch, of which you will give a copy to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, to the end that he may know officially our thoughts and propositions, and may rectify any error which may have occurred respecting Spain, the march of its Revolution, and the views and intentions of those who are at its front."

3*rd*.—The first case of the military execution of two Carlists under the law of 1821 was at Ciudad Real. They had been taken fighting, and with arms in their hands. They had been headed by the priest of Alcabon, Dueñas, who afterwards sued for pardon. Many petty encounters had taken place with the Carlist bands in Leon, Astorga, and in La Mancha under Polo, in Toledo under Brivues, and in other places; the troops in every case triumphed.

It was said that when Don Carlos crossed the frontier he took formal possession of Spain in the following manner:—He cut his name on a tree, fired a shot in the air, drank a bottle of champagne, and retired as he came, after giving orders to his partisans to disperse and desist for the present. The Carlist Sabariego and his two sons fled towards Portugal. In the province of Leon three priests were taken, having arms, a sack of Carlist manifestoes, and other documents.

In a fight near Montealegre, in Catalonia, nine Carlists were killed. The attitude of the clergy was severely commented on, including that of the archbishops and bishops.

On the 4*th*, Zorilla, the Minister of Grace and Justice, sent a long "exposicion" to his highness the Regent on the participation of "some individuals of the clergy in this Carlist rebellion, begging that certain steps be taken to acquire guarantees respecting the attitude of the clergy." On the 5th the Regent issued a pretty strong decree against the archbishops and bishops in particular as to their future behaviour, and they were to answer certain points within eight days.

On the eve of Prim's departure for France the sentence of death passed on the Carlist leader, the Canon Milo, and two others was commuted.

24*th*.—Prim issued a bulletin, concluding thus:—"The Regent, who with the most lively satisfaction has seen the factious (Carlist) disappear in so short a space of time, and peace re-established, has charged me to give thanks to all who have contributed to this important result, without prejudice to recompense in other modes those who have most distinguished themselves."

25*th*.—Public funeral of Admiral Mendez-Nunez, the bombarder of Valparaiso and Callao.

General Prim left Madrid for France, arriving in Paris on the 27th; the Emperor did not deèm it convenient to see him, but sent his Minister.

Don Carlos managed to escape from a port in Guipuzcoa on the 30*th*, and was in Paris next day with his wife, in the Rue Chaveau la Garde.

Very few of the bishops answered within the fixed term of eight days, and some of those who answered refused point blank to obey. Seven replies were so outrageous that they were submitted to the Supreme Tribunal.

The Bishop of Osma declined to be a police agent or spy of the Government, and denied the right of the civil

power to meddle in Church matters. The Bishop of Jaen was equally explicit in his reference to Rome. Cardinal Cuenca, Archbishop of Santiago, refused to issue a pastoral, except when he himself thought fit, and called strongly into question the right of the Government to interfere in Church matters. The Bishop of Tarazona (Arragon) evidently swore by St. Bernard and St. Justin. "His letter was a medley of violence, arrogance, and ecclesiastical Latin."

*September.*—Commencement of the prosecution of seven bishops.

3*rd.*—The Duke of Saldanha, Portuguese ambassador at Paris, wrote to Dom Fernando expressing his regret that he had refused the crown of Spain. Prim seriously proposed the Duke of Genoa, then at college in England.

Spain declined the mediation of the United States in the affairs of Cuba.

10*th.*—Madrid was on the eve of bloodshed, owing to the decision of the authorities to remove the "Volunteers of Liberty" from the building called the "Principal," where they had been since the "glorious 29th September;" had they not left, the troops had orders to dislodge them at all costs.

La Señora Godoy (widow of the Prince of Peace, who died in 1851) died in Paris, at the age of 92, caused by burns from her clothes taking fire.

Prim had an interview with the Emperor Napoleon, in company with Olózaga; doubtless the future of Spain and the position of Cuba were discussed. There was another interview between the Emperor and Prim; and the impression was that France would not be induced to take any part in the affairs of Spain.

21*st.*—Prim returned to Madrid.

Republican meetings and even risings against the Government.

*October.*—Republican risings in Catalonia, Arragon, and other places; they soon surrendered to the Government troops; one party was 1800 strong.

*7th and 8th.*—The Republicans attacked the troops in Valencia; those of Zaragoza vanquished after twenty-two hours' fighting. Republican prisoners transported. Many deputies heading and implicated in these risings fled to France.

The crown was formally offered to the Duke of Genoa; it was thought the King of Italy would not accede.

*10th.*—Caberilla and Cabajal, two Republican insurgents, shot at Ibi.

*11th.*—Desperate fighting in Valencia, and the Republic proclaimed. Salar, a Deputy, had been killed at Zaragoza. Castelar fled to Portugal, on being threatened by Republican fanatics.

*16th.*—Rout of the Republicans at Valencia, after a ten hours' bombardment; the leaders escaping to Gibraltar and France.

*19th.*—The Cortes thanked the army, navy, and volunteers, who had remained faithful. Prim publicly declared he was a Monarchist, and opposed to a Republic.

*21st.*—"Perfect tranquillity established throughout the Peninsula."

*23rd.*—Prim said in the Cortes, should the Œcumenical Council adopt decisions contrary to the Constitution, such would be treated as null and void.

*24th.*—Decree to establish religious liberty in Cuba and Porto Rico.

*25th.*—Plans of conciliation between Progressists, Democrats, and Unionists. Many Progressists did not

think the Duke of Genoa a suitable choice; the Unionists in favour of Montpensier.

28*th.*—Declaration of 110 Deputies to support Prim in elevating the Duke of Genoa to the throne.

29*th.*—Factions in the Cortes. The Liberal Union counted 60 to 70; the Radicals, including Progressists and Democrats, 130 to 140; many were not favourable to the Duke of Genoa, and said he had been put forward as a cloak to secure the succession to the Prince of Asturias, who was favoured by Serrano. About half the deputies voted for the Duke of Genoa, which did not satisfy Victor Emmanuel.

*November* 1*st.*—Admiral Topete, Minister of Marine, threatened to leave the Cabinet. Prim declared he would resign the Presidency if Topete retired, who then withdrew his resignation; but on the 2*nd* Topete resigned, but supported the Cabinet.

8*th.*—Fine speeches in the Cortes by Topete and Prim; the former promised to aid Prim to conclude the Revolution; Prim gave no indication of his future policy.

12*th.*—The Archbishop of Havana was arrested at Cadiz; it was reported that a large sum of money for the Carlists was found in his possession.

15*th.*—The Italian Government refused assent to the Duke of Genoa being a candidate for the throne.

18*th.*—Discussion in the Cortes as to the filling up of the thirty-two vacant (Republican) seats.

23*rd.*—Prim said in the Cortes he believed the Italian Cabinet would consent to the Duke of Genoa being a candidate. But no one now could assert that the Duke of Genoa would be elected by the Cortes; for to give him a sufficient majority, it would be necessary to reopen the Cortes to the Republican deputies, some of whom would

vote for the Duke, but who did not wish to enter before the state of siege had been raised. Espartero was again named as a candidate, supported by Madoz and a section of the Radicals; Montpensier had his party; the Archduke Victor of Austria was alluded to.

25*th.*—A manifesto, signed by the Republican deputies, accused the Government of having provoked the late insurrection, which was denied.

27*th.*—Mr. Layard arrived in Madrid, as British Minister. It was observed he had entered on a career which nobody would regard with envy, and which would tax his diplomatic skill to the utmost.

*December* 2*nd.*—Charge against Cristina and Isabella, by the Minister of Finance, for having taken away the Crown jewels. They replied from Paris, that what jewels they had were their own.

3*rd.*—Two Republican insurgents, who had been sentenced to death, were shot.

7*th.*—The Minister, Martos, reiterated that the Government was firmly resolved to oppose any decree of the Œcumenical Council which might be contrary to the principles of the Constitution.

16*th.*—Cortes adjourned till the 2nd January.

21*st.*—The Ministers left Madrid on a hunting excursion in the mountains of Toledo. Three hundred Guardias Civiles and a battalion of infantry accompanied them, for their protection. There was great distress in Madrid.

## 1870.

*January* 2*nd.*—Victor Emmanuel and his Government positively decided that the Duke of Genoa was not to accept the crown.

*3rd.*—The Ministry resigned on being fully assured of the above, and the Cortes suspended its sittings.

*9th.*—New Ministry constituted, with Prim, Rivero, Sagasta, Rios, Topete; the other portfolios remaining in the hands of the Ministers who held them in the last Cabinet.

General Sir De Lacy Evans died on the *9th.* He served in India from 1807 to 1810; Portugal, Spain, and France, 1812 to 1814; America, Belgium, and France, 1815 to 1818; in Spain, 1835 to 1837, in command of an auxiliary British corps, by sanction and desire of the British Government, which contributed to the successful termination of the Carlist war. He commanded the second division at the Alma, and was at the Tchernaya and Inkermann.

*12th.*—Prim declared that "the election of a Monarch would crown the edifice of the Revolution." Many Spaniards, seeing the difficulty of obtaining a foreign prince for the throne, observed: Why not form an alliance between two young people, children of Serrano and Prim, and make them King and Queen of Spain?

General Cabrera, Conde de Morella, was nominated a candidate for Alcira, in Valencia; the Duke of Montpensier for Oviedo and Aviles: neither were elected. The Duke wrote to the electors:—If, besides the thirty-five thousand electors that had favoured him, the remainder had known his sentiments of Españolism, he would have been elected. Many of his ancestors, as well as his wife and children, had been born in Spain, and he would co-operate by all the means in his power to promote the prosperity of the nation, which from tradition, adoption, and love was his country. He had confidence that time would do away with all the prejudices that had been stirred up against

him in the simple hearts of honest Spaniards. General Cabrera was grateful to the electors. If he had spilt his blood, and devoted the whole of his life to the triumph of the legitimate dynasty, which would be followed by a well-combined system of Government and rational liberty, as well as by peace and prosperity, he did not wish for other reward than to die witnessing the regeneration of Spain by the united efforts of all the Carlists, as he had said in his own house not long ago to one of the Ministers of the Revolutionary Government. He exhorted his electors to persevere; and said that the day would come when Spain would acknowledge the sufferings endured by the Carlist party—in his judgment the most disinterested of parties in its aspirations to bring about the welfare of the country.

*24th.*—Prim told the Cortes that the Government had no candidate for the throne; Topete, however, continued favourable to Montpensier.

*25th.*—In the elections for the vacant seats in the Cortes only one Carlist sympathiser had been chosen. In the north, 519,000 were polled by the Monarchical party, 149,000 by the Republicans, and 89,000 for the Carlists.

*February 4th.*—It was rumoured that Prince George of Saxony might be a candidate for the throne. He was born in 1832; married, in 1859, the Princess Marianne, sister of the King of Portugal. Prince Frederick Charles of Prussia had been mentioned, but he was a Protestant.

*6th.*—For some time past there had been a desire on the part of Spain to have peace with Chile and Peru. At this date it was reported from Madrid that treaties of peace were about being brought to a close; however, there were too many serious difficulties in the way. Spain required £14,000,000 from Peru for expenses of the war in the

Pacific, which could not be listened to; and Chile would not come to terms unless Spain gave "satisfaction" for its "criminal" bombardment of defenceless Valparaiso on March 31st, 1866.

The Cortes were now pushing through the laws authorising the Ayuntamientos, or municipal bodies, of which there are 9355, to collect the taxes. Money was much wanted, especially to pay the army. In Valencia and Ciudad Real the shopkeepers refused to supply the soldiers with provisions, in the absence of money. Riots resulted, of which as little as possible was said. Spain was daily becoming more round-shouldered under the burden of her obligations. A golden heap of £300,000,000 of national debt was no easy load. Since 1865 to the end of last October the public debt had swelled to £14,956,602. Pi y Margall, the Republican political economist, stated that the last annual deficit was £11,000,000.

18*th*.—Rivero, in the Cortes, accused the Carlist party of conspiring to bring about another armed rising. Cabrera had refused to take command of the Carlists, unless there was placed at his disposal an organised force, or one of the military strongholds. Don Carlos was using all his persuasion with some foreign Courts to intervene in his favour.

On Prince Alfonso leaving for Rome to receive his "first communion" from his godfather, the Pope, he took a letter from his mother, dated February 20th. She spoke of her sorrowful heart, which had suffered so much. She required his consolation for the Queen dethroned, and thanked him for his prayers: "God may restore me to the throne which belongs to me by right. I do not now aspire to preserve this right to myself, but to transmit it on the most fitting occasion to the Prince, my son. I have formed the propo-

sition that he shall be educated in such a manner, that if some day the nation needs him, and God wishes it, he may go and perform his labour without exciting the hatred or the opposition of any of the numerous factions into which our country is unfortunately divided; for he will have learnt that the good King of Spain must not belong to any party, and that God has given the kings for the people, and not the people for the kings. Oh, that so much blood had not been shed for his mother, innocent as she was of it! I do not desire the throne for him if he is not raised to it by the legitimate hope and general love of the people."

Don Carlos, travelling with an Austrian passport, arrived at Lyons on the 22nd; he was met by his uncle, the ex-Duke of Modena, from whom it appeared he received a considerable sum of money, to assist him in a proposed rising. The French authorities, however, conducted him to the Swiss frontier, and he was at Geneva that same night. There was a new viva—"Carlos VII., by the grace of God and the Revolution of September;" meaning that the said Revolution, which had upset Isabella, would place him on the throne.

*March 5th.*—At the sitting of the Cortes Prim denied, in the name of the Government, all projects of a *coup d'état* in favour of Montpensier, adding that to the Cortes alone appertained the right of electing a king.

12*th.*—Prim, replying to Castelar, energetically declared, that if ever the liberty of the Cortes in the choice of a king were threatened, he would defend it against all comers.

FATAL DUEL BETWEEN MONTPENSIER AND DON ENRIQUE.

On the morning of the 12*th* these two princes fought a

duel at the Dehesa de Carabancheles, near Madrid. At the third shot Don Enrique was killed. His seconds were Rubio and Ortiz, Republican deputies; Montpensier's, Generals Cordova and Alaminos. When Montpensier knew he had killed his antagonist, he exclaimed, "My God! what have I done? His children shall not be orphans—they shall be my children." Don Enrique won the toss. The adversaries fired first at ten yards—neither hurt. Montpensier got his cheek grazed at the third fire of eight yards.

The news reached Paris in the afternoon, when Don Francisco sent a telegram to his nephew, who was in Madrid—"If it can afford any consolation, know that from this time you will find in me the paternal affection which you have lost." The young Duke Enrique replied, "I am in desolation. I know not what to do. Advise." The answer was, "Perform your duty. Attend the funeral, and then come to Paris. My arms are open to you." Don Francisco sent for the two daughters of his deceased brother from the school they were at, and by degrees broke to them the mournful intelligence. Duke Enrique was an ensign in the cavalry regiment of Pavia; his brother in the Spanish service in the Philippine Islands.

For years Don Enrique had hated Montpensier, and had written much against him. In a letter, dated Paris, 26th February, 1869, the matter of a duel was prominent, and he spoke of him as "a disloyal prince and an instigating agent. Let him not—this foreign prince—prepare for himself in Spain the fate of the unfortunate Maximilian." It was Don Enrique's pamphlets, and more particularly the letter of the 7th March, that decided Montpensier to challenge him. The said letter was addressed to the

"Montpensierists," who had accused Don Enrique of "dastardising." He replied that it was as calumnious as that Prim, for a sum of money, would elevate Montpensier to the throne as Antonio I. "This prince (Montpensier), as crafty as his Jesuitical ancestors, would have been proclaimed King in the waters of Cadiz if an illustrious comrade had not refused to stain his uniform. To-day it is the hypocritical, Jesuitical, and suborning invasion of the Orleanists against my country, so wearied out, so disenchanted, and so riddled with grapeshot by its Governments. Montpensier represents the knot of the Orleanist conspiracy against Napoleon III. The illustrious Espartero is the man of *prestige*, and the object of national veneration, and by no means the inflated French 'pastelero'"—pastrycook or trimmer.

Don Enrique was looked upon as a difficult, contentious, and intractable man. Louis Philippe, in his Spanish marriage scheme, it is firmly believed, prevented Enrique becoming the husband of Isabella, and it is also known that she was partial to him.

On the overthrow of Isabella Don Enrique returned to Madrid. His principal occupation seemed to be to worry Montpensier, sneering at his parsimony, and taunting him as being "a millionaire who played the part of a pretender to the crown; a calculator and dealer, to whom might fall the honour of investing in a vacant throne, or at least in a regency, which might prove more profitable than orange-selling on the Guadalquiver."

It is stated that Don Enrique's intellect seconded his aspirations very imperfectly; he used to say that his brain was like wet tinder, which none of his sacred fire could light up into a blaze, or even into a dull constant fire. He betrayed a painful consciousness of those mental im-

perfections, which he said was the penalty royal families pay to nature for emancipating them from the ordinary conditions of humanity. When in company with intellectual men he scarcely opened his lips. "Alas," he would say, "it would be presumption for me, born as I was, to speak before those whose ancestors won for them the capacity to think like men." He had a presentiment that he would soon (he was then about leaving Paris) meet with a violent death.

The "Constitucional" of Madrid observed that Montpensier considered himself the necessary and providential man, and as the king designated by the Revolution. His charity was very extensive, but more or less calculated. If the Madrid tradesmen were excepted—who wanted a settlement of some kind, and would make a king of Montpensier, because he is ready at hand—and a few commandants of National Militia, the population was hostile to him.

12*th*.—Prim, in reply to Castelar, who had made a furious attack on his policy, spoke in friendliness of the Union-Liberals, saying:—"Is it not policy to do everything I possibly can to preserve union in the majority? I have declared often that I have no motive to suspect or to doubt the worthy Union-Liberal party. This is not the first time Señor Castelar and his friends have asserted that we shall yet have to fight the Union-Liberals! I hold the Union-Liberals as friends, for they are identified with us. They have accepted the Constitution of 1869, and have shown a right-minded patriotism. They have given rise to no suspicions or doubts that they aspire to anything else. As they desire the completion of the Constitution of 1869, with all its consequences, and as they wish a king to come, which we also wish, I open my

arms to the Union-Liberals, and give them my two hands in friendly shake! This is my policy, Señor Castelar! It may seem bad policy to you, but it is good policy for me, for the Government, and for all thinking men and politicians who do not wish to launch themselves into chimerical adventures!"

Castelar replied:—"General Prim's declaration pleases me, and I felicitate him. His policy is the policy of the Union-Liberals! Now we know that the policy of the Government will be the policy of the Union-Liberals. General Prim will be asphyxiated in vacuo! Such policy will prove a great catastrophe!"

13*th*.—The Emperor of the French sent to Isabella's husband to express his displeasure at the dissensions between him and his wife, and hinted that an amicable understanding should be effected, in order to obviate the necessity of adopting such measures as would be required to maintain the dignity of French hospitality. Marfori was in Paris.

14*th*.—Prim told the Cortes that when near the gate of Alcalá a crowd shouted "Down with the conscription!" and surrounded and pelted him with stones. The Republican deputies Soler and Sorti repudiated, on the part of their friends, all responsibility in reference to the conscription disturbances.

The funeral of Don Enrique took place. It was conducted by freemasons, he being a brother. When the priests saw the masonic insignia on the coffin, including the banner inscribed with "Deus meumque jus," they took away that of the Church, and refused to perform any religious service.

The *cortège* started from No. 3, Costanilla de los Angeles. First came police, men and boys with lighted

candles, and a band of music; after which the hearse—which was of glass, revealing the coffin inside—drawn by six black horses. The coffin was of bronze, and on it lay the general's hat, the sword, and the decorations of the deceased, together with his masonic insignia, conspicuous amongst which were the figures 33, to represent his grade as a sovereign grand inspector of a supreme council of freemasons. The chief mourners were two of his relatives, the Duke of Sesa and Lieutenant Guell; then the Cura Pullido, one of the few priests in Madrid allied to the Liberal party, who stepped in at the last moment to perform the religious services when these had been denied by others on account of the masonic emblems on the coffin. A worthy company of citizens, including the members of all the masonic lodges, followed the hearse to the cemetery of San Isidro. The ceremony at the grave, or rather niche, was short, and then the crowds dispersed, after being harangued by two or three Republicans.

16*th*.—A letter from Madrid said that Prim, the self-made, ambitious man, was liked more by the soldiers than the officers, and that his position was most commanding. Montpensier would gladly hail him as a king-maker; the Republicans would cautiously, but willingly, take him as a leader. He had had a long training in popular esteem, but many were getting tired of a situation prolonged by his selfish indecision.

Juan Prim was born in 1814. His admirers declared he was the son of a lieutenant-colonel; his ill-wishers of an obscure lawyer or a butcher, and observed that he killed a Carlist soldier of the garrison of Reus, fled, and joined the Cristinos as a private. At twenty-three he was a colonel, and at thirty a major-general and Conde de

Reus, with a galaxy of stars and crosses to cover so many wounds.

From the day* of his public entry into Madrid he had been the standing puzzle and paradox of politics. A man more reticent in himself, or less open to be "pumped," it would be difficult to find. His broad German features had admirably learned the politician's grand lesson of concealing thought. If he laughed—a rare event—he was seriously vexed about something. The most acute physiognomist would be baffled in the endeavour to obtain from countenance or demeanour the smallest clue to what was passing behind that stolid mask.

On the flight of Cristina in 1840, Prim opposed Espartero, who expelled him. He joined Cristina, and returning to Spain on his election to the Cortes by Barcelona, effected a coalition between Cristina's party and the Progressists. He assisted to upset Espartero in 1843, and became governor of Madrid. The Corte turned against him, and for some years his name seemed to have dropped out of the history of Europe.

The Crimean war drew him from retirement, and at Silistria and elsewhere he gave good proof of talent and courage, which six years later he again showed in Morocco. He was one of the first to recognise the error of the Emperor Napoleon meddling with Mexico. Three years of intrigue culminated, in 1866, in an abortive insurrection, and he found himself once more an exile, and in London, where he remained nearly two years, till another turn of Fortune's wheel placed him at the head of affairs, apparently the arbiter of the future destinies of Spain. He is about the middle height, grave and reserved. He

* *The Graphic* (with portrait), March 19.

appears to hold winning cards, but is strangely cautious in playing them.

19*th*.—Decree imposing on the clergy the taking the oath to the Constitution within two months.

On the night of the 19th and 20th sitting of the Cortes a great debate took place upon a financial bill, an amendment having been moved by the Opposition Liberal-Unionists. Figuerola and Prim insisted on the absolute necessity of adopting the bill, and earnestly invited the Radicals, Progressists, and Democrats to defend themselves from attack, at which Topete ostentatiously quitted the Ministerial bench. The amendment was rejected by 122 against 116 votes. The rupture between the Radicals and the Liberal-Union was regarded as consummated.

21*st*.—Many Unionist functionaries resigned. Topete's resignation was accepted by the Regent, who appointed Señor Beranger in his place.

23*rd*.—The financial Bill passed by 129 votes against 79. The Unionists abstained from voting. Treasury bonds were shortly afterwards negotiated in Paris at 69 %.

It was a test of strength between Prim's supporters in the Cortes, and the combined forces of the Unionists and Republicans. Prim came out the victor with what will go down to posterity as one of the war-cries of the Revolution—"Radicales, unâmos; apréstase la falange! y pues el Union-Liberal nos dan batalla, á defendernos!" He was once more the man of the hour. The destiny of the nation was in his hands. Those Prim called "Radicales" were the Progressists and Democrats, and urged upon them to form their phalanx and defend themselves, since the Union-Liberals had chosen to give them battle," concluding with "Los que me quieren que me siguen"—(Let those who care for me follow me.) The excitement

which might have been expected followed. While one revolutionary hero, General Milano del Bosch, embraced his ancient leader, another, General Izquierdo, said to him, "General, now to vote, and then to horse, if necessary," at which Prim, the initiator of the revolution, rose excitedly from his seat, replying, "General, we shall be always friends, but I cannot consent to follow you in the road which almost proclaims a Republic," left the Ministerial bench and the house, and took no part in the vote. Had he voted, the Government would have won by five. Convinced of their mistake, the Unionists made no further opposition to the passing of the Loan Bill, which was carried by a majority of 50.

A letter from Cuba stated that on *February 18th* eighteen of the Cuban Junta had been executed. They were not allowed counsel or witnesses in their defence. Among them were two Americans. General Rodas issued a proclamation at Puerto Principe, announcing that the operations against insurgents would be conducted with increased vigour and severity, but offering amnesty to all who would speedily surrender, except to the principal leaders.

*30th.*—The Colonial Minister, Becerra, resigned, replaced by Señor Moret, an ardent abolitionist. The Unionists, during thirteen years of power, had sent all their best men to Cuba for the purpose of making their fortunes. Becerra's first care, on the breach of the Coalition, was to bring forward his bills of reforms, including the abolition of slavery in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and the war waged against him by the Unionists became hotter and hotter, especially on the part of Robledo Romero, who embodied in the Cortes the slave-holding interest of Cuba. Becerra reported that he had a document which would dis-

honour Romero for life; the latter demanded that it should be read in the Cortes. It proved to be a letter written to Robledo when he was Secretary of the Colonial Department, thanking him for an office which he had secured to the writer in Cuba, and sending him a cheque for £300, asking for promotion, and promising £400 more as soon as he should be raised; it also announced that 4000 cigars were on their way to Robledo. The letter was signed "Martin Vilero." The handwriting was disguised, and when Vilero was telegraphed to in Cuba, he denied having written the letter. It was directed to the Secretary of the Colonial Department, and was opened by the secretary now in office. Public opinion was against Robledo, but he defied Becerra to prove him guilty. As Becerra could not present the proper proof, he resigned.

*April 1st.*—A split took place in the Republican party, on account of socialistic tendencies of some of its members, who proposed that a manifesto should be published urging the formation of a Federal Assembly, whereby great autonomy would be accorded to the provinces. The measure brought forward since the retirement of Topete from the Ministry, who was opposed to clerical reform, was one of the most sweeping since the revolution, and amounted almost to a separation of Church and State, destroying also the little that remained of the concordat with Rome. Instead of nine archbishops and forty-seven bishops, there would be four and thirty-three respectively, and at reduced incomes. The deans, canons, and prebends were to be reduced one-half in number and one-half in income. The ecclesiastical budget, as voted by the Cortes, was £1,664,466; the new budget to be £1,352,786.

The Emperor and Empress of the French paid a visit to the ex-Queen Isabella. The Queen appeared to be

much affected by this mark of attention at a moment when domestic troubles had been added to the misfortune of exile. The King and Queen had signed an agreement before a notary; which deed regulated the financial arrangements and mutual rights between the parties, who are henceforth to live separate—*de corps et de biens*. One of the formal clauses consists of an engagement by the two parties not to live together, whatever may happen hereafter.

*3rd*.—Two great parties were forming in the Cortes, Unionists and Progressists. A Ministerial crisis terminated and Echegarry remained in office; it had been a "melancholy confusion of politics"; a vote of censure carried by 78 to 75 votes against Echegarry for intending to suppress religious education in schools.

This was the day fixed for the drawing for the conscription, or Quinta—also called "Contribucion de Sangre." A fifth part of the youths between eighteen and twenty-one to be chosen by lot for military service, for eight years; if drawn, and not wishing for the undesirable prize, to pay to the Government £80, or find a substitute. It had been promised by the chiefs of the Revolution of 1868 that the hated Quinta should be abolished; and if there was a word more odious to the Spanish Republicans than the Divine right of the Bourbon monarchy or Montpensier, it was the Quintas. Insurrections commenced against the conscription—particularly at troublesome Barcelona—which continued until the 9th.

*5th*.—The law fixing the military contingent at 40,000 was adopted without discussion.

Cabellero de Rodas notified that he considered the Cuban insurrection at an end, as numerous insurgents had surrendered, and several had been shot. However, there

was other information that the Cubans felt certain they would tire the Spaniards out, and looked upon the situation of Spain as far more hopeless than their own, and that the sale or gift of Cuba or defeat of the Spaniards would be a gain to Spain, as she would require a much less army and little or no navy.

*7th.*—The Duke of Montpensier was judicially examined relative to the duel with Don Enrique; he admitted the fact. A prosecution was instituted, and he was placed in arrest in his own residence.

The differences between Isabella and her husband, Don Francisco, terminated by a decision of arbitrators:—A separation agreed to; Don Francisco to receive a yearly allowance of £8000; provision for the children secured —that of the Prince of Asturias £160,000 annually.

*9th.*—Rivero announced to the Cortes that the insurrection at Gracia had terminated the previous day, after an attack of two hours; that "tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom"; and that the drawing for the conscription was at an end. Prim and the army were too strong for any sort of insurrection.

This anti-conscription outbreak is known as the "Barcelona Insurrection." There was a week of it, with some skirmishing in the city; barricades being raised, and demolished; railway bridges burnt; and telegraphic wires cut. To prevent the authorities from knowing who were, and who were not to be drawn, the Town-halls were sacked, and bonfires made of the books and records; women taking a prominent part in these proceedings. There was much cruelty and uncivilized brutality observable; one specimen: a fellow at a window fired at man, woman, and child—even at dogs!

The correspondent of the "Daily Telegraph" stated:—

"Many Spaniards, especially Catalans, join a riot merely "'to give pleasure to the trigger-finger.'" It was in the suburb of Gracia that the insurrection presented its most formidable appearance; there were about 1000 armed men opposed to the troops.

An Alcalde was shot, and another wounded by the rioters, although they were Republicans.

At Gracia, flags of truce passed, but no arrangements were come to; eventually the insurgents hoisted a black flag, and swore to die rather than surrender; a bombardment was kept up until Saturday the 9*th*, when at 4. 30., a.m., the place was attacked on all sides; by 6. 30., Gracia was in possession of the authorities; the loss of the insurgents stated to have been 20 killed and 10 wounded, and 50 prisoners taken; of the troops 2 killed and 14 wounded. Eight men found in a cellar were shot, and the keeper of a wine-shop was shot because his hands were black, not from powder, but wine, and his wife was mortally wounded.

The general impression was that the revolt was caused by the popular grievance of the day, the conscription. It afterwards took a Republican character, as everything of the kind does in Catalonia; however, there were cries of "Death to Prim" from Republicans, Carlists, Cubanos, Alfonsists, and from many of the Church party. One account stated that Cuban money was the principal stimulant at the outbreak at Gracia.

Connected with the conscription outbreak, in Malaga some police were wounded; in Salamanca crowds broke into the place for drawing lots, when the drawing had to be suspended; in Tordera, Huelva, and Castellan the urns were broken; in Bejar seventy youths fled to the mountains after being drawn; in Carthagena and La

Granja the military had to enforce the drawing; at Seville, on the 8th, the populace fired on the troops, who returned it, wounding eleven; on the following day the drawing took place.

It was said by many that "Prim alone could tell by whose fault this disastrous period had been hitherto prolonged—on whose goodwill it may henceforth depend that this anxious period should be brought to a close." The entire country was more or less in a state of effervescence, and the interregnum continued beyond all patience and safety.

Figueras taxed Rivero, the Minister of the Interior, with having been false to his principles concerning the conscription. Rivero replied that there was a vast difference between speaking from the Ministerial benches and speaking as a simple deputy (!), and that it was impossible to abolish the conscription at present.

*Lenten Plays.*—A series of interesting letters appeared in the *Times* on this subject, headed "Spanish Recreations." Here is offered part of the regular "bill of the play" for the previous year:—

Novedades Theatre, Madrid. The Passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ, including the conversion of Mary Magdalen, entry into Jerusalem, the Prayer in the Garden, the Street of Bitterness, the Crucifixion, the Eclipse and Earthquake, the Burial. The most interesting of these episodes in conformity with evangelical truth. The classic music of the great religious composers, producing in the mind a mixed impression of piety and tenderness. Performers: The Virgin, by Señora Tenorio; names given of eight other actresses and their parts; Jesus, by Señor Izquierdo; twenty-one other actors, with their parts; twenty other parts, names not given, and eighteen groups of super-

numeraries. Director, Señor J. Izquierdo; decorations by the distinguished "escenografo," L. Muriel; music, by the Maestro, José V. Arche; dresses, by A. Segarra; the "atrezo" (ornamental arrangements?) by the Widow Hornero.

11*th.*—Alarm in Madrid at night of a Carlist outbreak. Important Carlist chiefs had entered Spain. There was also bad blood between the troops and Volunteers of Liberty.

12*th.*—In a council of war, the Court having heard mass, examined into and judged the case, pronounced sentence against the Duke of Montpensier:—Considering the extenuating circumstances, &c., he was condemned to one month's banishment from Madrid, and a fine of £1200 to the family of Don Enrique. The Duke, in his defence, observed: —"Terrible has been the conclusion; very painful to me. I did all I could to obtain other reparation. If he fell, it certainly was not because I desired it. The Divine will ordered it so. I am grieved to have been myself obliged to give occasion for it." Before joining his family at Seville, the Duke attended service at several churches, and left behind him a handsome contribution for the poor of Madrid.

13*th.*—Elections (which had been fixed for the 16th) postponed "until circumstances permitted the raising of the state of siege." On the subject of the new electoral law, "Parliamentary incompatibility" had produced grave dissensions in the Radical majority—one side declaring that the curse of Spanish Parliaments had been the large number of Government *employés* returned to Congress; the other, the partisans of compatibility, declared that it was immaterial whether a deputy was bound to a certain Ministry or not. "Still, in Cortes, one can-

not serve the Nation and Mammon." Therefore the cry was, "Viva la incompatibilidad."

Numerous priests had refused to take the oath to the Constitution, as the Pope had put his veto on any of those who did so. A Bill was brought into the Cortes for sending the non-juring ones out of the country. A circular was issued stating the period within which the army chaplains were required to take the oath.

Castelar on the Affairs of Spain:—Prim is a cipher, capable of uniting all liberal fractions. He is intelligent and influential, but he has the undetermined quantity of a cipher. Suppose Monarchy is quoted at 9, place a cipher at its right, then Prim may be quoted at 90; place the cipher at the left, and Prim becomes a decimal. You (addressing the Ministry) complained of Carlist perturbation in all parts—of their colossal conspiracy. Is it to be wondered at, when you have not shut the door to the older Bourbons?

The vacancy left by the ancient institutions can only be compensated for by the vital air of democratic principles. If the towns have a tendency to military power, they have also a distrust of it. Spanish democracy mistrusts Prim; he does not know how to unite himself with the Monarchy or with the Republic. . . . Let us have faith in progress, faith in democracy. . . . This Government is an enemy to such solutions. Conservatives have no place in revolutionary periods; theirs is a policy of prudence and privilege—that of the Radicals, justice and audacity. The Pope aspires to become a deity; the priest has taken up the "Trabuco," instead of bearing meekly the crucifix.

The Republicans follow the system of compromise in Europe—John Bright compromises with the English aris-

tocracy, Ollivier with Imperial France; and Rivero with Monarchy in Spain—an impossibility for a shadow.

Prim places us at the mercy of the army; but in the army there is dissatisfaction; a part wishes for the old system; the Liberal faction understands it has fought so long in favour of freedom, and it has been deprived of so precious a gift, losing the exercise of political rights. The press friendly to Prim proposes he should become Dictator. In consequence of his uncertain spirit, he may not find a home, not even a grave, in his own country!

There are two policies, the Conservative and the Revolutionary; if you believe in the first, let it be decided at once; this state of uncertainty cannot continue—a Restoration may take place, which would be a disgrace to our name, never to be effaced from the page of history.

20*th*.—Army contingent bill for 40,000 men voted, 148 against 37; the Public Order Bill 156 to 27.

There were advocates for the candidature of Prince Alfonso; it was said that the Regent had urged upon Prim three candidates, viz., the Duke of Montpensier, Espartero and Prim. Prim replied in the Cortes, that he would not become King, and he and his party rejected the other two. Prim's moves appeared to indicate a military Dictatorship, First Consul, or Presidency for himself, in concert with the Democrats.

23*rd*.—Petitions from Catalonia, demanded that Espartero should be chosen king. Prim promised the crowning of the Spanish edifice before the end of May. Some Carlist chiefs arrested when leaving for the Spanish frontier; they were conducted to the interior of France.

Vevey in Switzerland:—Crowds of Carlists pouring in to attend a grand meeting, convoked by "Carlos VII.," to discuss the programme of the attempt which would shortly

be made to solve in favour of Divine Right. Three councils had already been held at the residence of Don Carlos, Colonel Iparraguire, the Conde de Almenada and many other chiefs being present; "and, notwithstanding the retirement of General Cabrera, which was felt to be a great loss to the cause," a rising was contemplated in June. Cabrera's views were said to be progressive; those of Don Carlos and his surroundings were not.

*25th.*—The Pope maintained his instructions, issued in September, 1869, to the clergy, to take the oath when the Government had declared that the Constitution contained nothing against the laws of God or the Church, as in 1845.

Political excitement was producing caricatures—one, "Equilibrios del Interinidad," represented Prim dancing on a slack rope, upon the points of swords, which he wore as stilts, while the Republicans and partizans of the various candidates for the throne looked on, in expectation of his falling. Another gave thirty comic portraits of claimants for the throne—the "Auction"—Prim knocking down the crown to the highest bidder. A third, the "Duel," depicted him engaged in mortal combat with a friar, while a bishop acted as second for each of the opponents.

*May 4th.*—The amendment to Clause 12 of the Bill on Parliamentary disqualifications, which proposed to limit the proportion of functionaries in the Cortes to one-fifth of the members, was rejected by 97 votes to 60; the whole clause was expunged by 96 votes to 87.

*5th.*—Señor Olózaga, the Spanish envoy to France, who had been sent for, arrived in Madrid.

Young Don Enrique, in a letter, stated that his father had been the "support of four poor children, whom he educated with all the affection of his heart. His slayer has deprived us of the consolation of our life; but he has

not, and never can, extinguish within us the dignity to reject with scorn the thirty thousand francs he has deposited, and to wait until some day we may settle our account better with less money. My father was incapable of injuring anybody, and if he treated Don Antonio de Bourbon with bitter hardness, he was not moved by any base intentions. He was impelled by a Spanish sentiment of independence, of dignity, and of justice, and by the shame and indignation of an honourable man. And these same motives will eternally influence his sons, Enrique Francisco and Alberto de Bourbon."

*6th.*—Señor Ardanaz urged the Cortes promptly to consider the election of a sovereign, and to decide between Espartero and Montpensier. Prim replied that everybody was desirous of terminating the provisional state of things, but up to the present his efforts to give a king to Spain had been fruitless. He believed it necessary that the Cortes should accomplish its constitutional mission before separating, but he did not know if the political edifice could be completed as desired by Señor Ardanaz; that he would not oppose any solution, but that he did not wish to be beaten upon the monarchical question. He declared the rectitude of his intentions, and the absence of all personal ambition, and promised that the question should be submitted to the Cortes before it separated.

*7th.*—Olózaga left for Paris; Sagasta announced that he had come to Madrid in order to tender the Government advice respecting the internal position of affairs, and to receive verbal instructions from the Ministry. The salaries of those bishops, some 40 in number, who refused to take the oath to the Constitution would be withdrawn.

In a late council of Ministers—now nearly all Progressists—it transpired that the Regent, a Unionist, dwelt

at length on his unsatisfactory position. "The Unionists, with their sixty deputies, who formed a barrier to the onward course of Revolution, had of late held out promises to support the Progressists, who would in time fall a prey to them."

*8th.*—Olózaga, from Paris, it would seem, informed his Government that Dom Fernando might become a candidate for the throne; probably also his son, the Infante Augusto. From another quarter a Prince of Hohenzollern was alluded to. Los Rios, the Spanish Minister at Lisbon, was sent for, and was in Madrid on the *9th;* having had a conference he returned.

*10th.*—Fifty of the Progressist Club, consisting of 700 members (of which Prim was chairman), declared for the candidature of Espartero.

*13th.*—At a meeting of the majority of the Cortes it was resolved to reorganise the Progressist-Democratic party, in consequence of the efforts of the Unionists to separate them.

Public meetings held in the United States, expressing indignation against the Spanish authorities in Cuba for the summary execution of General Goicouria, and resolutions to Congress passed protesting against further barbarity. In a late encounter the insurgents lost 150 men and three guns.

*15th.*—The Deputy Madoz took a letter from Prim to Espartero, stating that an important fraction of the Cortes wished to elect him king. He replied:—"A duty of conscience obliges me to declare that it would not be possible for me to accept the exalted charge, for my health and years would not permit me to discharge it." He was seventy-eight and childless.

*16th.*—In consequence of Espartero's refusal, in a

council of Ministers, it was proposed to make Serrano King. 18*th.*—The Unionists assented to have Serrano as King; but it was said he opposed the arrangement. Some of the Progressists proposed to vote the exclusion of the two branches of the Bourbons from the throne. It was observed that it was difficult to see what Prim was at.

19*th.*—Montpensier returned to Madrid with his eldest son. His party had asserted that, as soon as his month's exile should be over, he would be brought to Madrid on the shoulders of the people and proclaimed king. There were 80 Liberal Union deputies Montpensier might count on; but 50 more deputies were required to ensure his election in the Cortes. How were they to be obtained? The Republicans had been Federals and Unitarians; they now formed one body as Federals, and called Castelar a traitor.

Rodas issued a proclamation, declaring free all slaves of the insurgents in Cuba, as well as all slaves who had served the troops as guides, or voluntarily aided the Government forces.

20*th.*—The events of the previous day in Portugal produced a desire to maintain the *status quo* in Spain.

Saldanha's Pronunciamiento.—On the morning of the 19th, at 1 a.m., he demanded, at the head of six battalions, the dismissal of the Loulé Ministry; at the Ajuda Palace he was opposed; an encounter followed, when a few soldiers were killed and wounded. At 4 a.m. Saldanha entered the palace and had an interview with the King; His Majesty summoned Loulé, who resigned, Saldanha taking his place. The Cortes were closed; new elections would probably follow, favourable to Saldanha. The *Times* observed:—"It may be, if leisure is allowed to Saldanha,

that the power thus violently obtained will be beneficially employed." In the "Money Article":—"There was the impression that Saldanha's movements may have been prompted by a desire to bring about a union of the crowns of Portugal and Spain, a consummation which he has long favoured. Montpensier's return to Madrid was eclipsed by Saldanha's doings in Lisbon.*

Espartero, in reply to a deputation of the "Espartero party," concluded by expressing his willingness "to sacrifice himself for his country, if elected by the Cortes." The belief was that his candidature would fall to the ground.

The Spanish Minister at Lisbon sent details of Saldanha's *coup* to his Government, which were read in the Cortes; Rivero observed:—"The Spanish Government were not aware what banner Saldanha had raised, but they all knew what he wanted; the deputies could form their own opinions on the events, but the Government had to maintain a prudent reserve."

21*st*.—The Spanish fleet, which was under orders for Lisbon, was recalled "on account of the political condition of Portugal." The Minister of Marine refused to communicate the instructions given to the squadron. On the preceding day, information came from Corunna that the British squadron had left in a northerly direction, but it was believed it would proceed to Lisbon.

* Letters received in Madrid gave the following explanation of the events which lately occurred in Lisbon. The return of Saldanha to office was considered imminent, but the principal motive did not transpire; Loulé, wishing to prevent this, had taken measures for the arrest of Saldanha, who was to be conveyed on board a ship of war. As soon as the vessel had got to sea the captain was to give Saldanha sealed instructions for a foreign mission, and had this been declined the duke was to be confined in a distant colony. These projects coming to the ears of Saldanha, induced him to have recourse at once to a military *pronunciamiento*.

23*rd*.—The Esparterist Commission announced to the Club that he would accept the throne if elected by the nation. Madoz was to see Prim, and state that the Club desired that the situation should be frankly defined. Montpensier was dissatisfied at the attitude of his partisans, and demanded that a vote should be promptly elicited from the Cortes on his claims to the throne.

Saldanha, in consequence of articles in the journals accusing him of being in favour of Iberian unity, solemnly swore that he would maintain the independence of Portugal.

An official communication from Havannah of the 21st announced another defeat of the insurgents; 104 were killed, including eight leaders.

The Regent Serrano conferred the order of the Golden Fleece on M. Ollivier, the French premier; previously he had sent the decoration of Noble Ladies to his wife.

24*th*.—Madoz was dissatisfied with the result of his interview with Prim.

A spirited debate took place at Washington respecting the outrages committed by Spanish troops in Cuba; the Committee on Foreign Affairs agreed to give General Jordan, one of the leaders, a hearing on Cuban affairs.

25*th*.—The civil marriage bill finally accepted. Prim declared in the Cortes that Spain had no connection with the recent occurrences in Portugal. Saldanha published a manifesto declaring that his new Ministry had nothing in common with the Iberian idea.

26*th*.—Another engagement with the insurgents in Cuba, seventeen killed; 170 surrendered.

Spanish stock seemed to be the most profitable in the London markets, paying about 10 per cent. (Portuguese about the same); taking the 1867 and 1869 loans, the

3 per cent. stock was at 31. The "Almaden Quicksilver Loan" was being arranged by the Rothschilds for two to three millions sterling upon a new basis. Just as people viewed the political future of Spain, so they would value her credit.

27*th*.—A meeting of provincial deputies was held under the presidency of Prim; twenty-two of those present voted against a resolution to confer royal prerogatives on the Regent Serrano, while twelve only recorded their votes in favour of the proposal. That same evening it was rumoured that Prim would tender his resignation as President of the Council, should the Cortes refuse to confer the prerogatives on Serrano. Also, that the Cortes "would go through the formality of electing a sovereign, merely to prove that no candidate had any chance of a majority."

28*th*.—Bill presented by the Colonial Minister, Moret, for the abolition of slavery in the Spanish colonies. Prim summoned to their seats in the Cortes, for 6th June, all members absent from Madrid; an important question would be discussed, and the efforts of the Ministry to terminate the interregnum explained.

*June* 1*st*.—The "Spanish Quicksilver Mortgage Bonds," issued for £2,318,100 5 per cent. at 80, to yield £7 4s. per annum on the mortgage of the Almaden Mines; to be redeemed at par in thirty years. On announcement the previous day it was at 2 per cent. premium, leaving off at 4.

# CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 5, last line but one.—*For* tragedian, *read* tragic poet.

Page 6.—*After* 9th line, *add*, 1838, September 21, the French Carlists evacuated. To foot note.—*Add*, see page, Vol. I., 435.

Page 13.—*After* 8th line, *add*, at Los Arcos, by Lorenzo, 15th November at Pamplona.

Page 20.—*Add* to list of Carlist writers, Carlist bulletins, commencing, in autumn of 1834. Vida "Militar de Cabrera," by Cordova; Morella bulletins; Lord Carnavon's work on Spain; Alcalá Galiano.

Page 25, 9th line.—*After* names, *add*, assumed.

Page 88.—Zavala and Armencha were defeated by Espartero near Bermeo; Armencha was shot 14th April; a few days afterwards Zumalacarregui shot Leopold O'Donnell.

Page 91.—The motto of the Marquis of Campo Sagrado, "After God is the House of Quiroz."

Page 111.—Shooting of Ponce de Leon. Señor Lazeu, in a pamphlet, Lisbon, 1863, replies to the Marques de Miraflores' paper to the "Academia de la Historia," and says, "The confession of P. de Leon will one day figure in history."

Page 112.—*Add*, after end of 2nd paragraph, On the 30th August, the Peers voted the expulsion of Don Carlos from Spain.

Page 185.—It is said that it was Mina's secretary who signed the document sent, and that Mina said he only knew of the matter after her death.

Page 186.—Foz, *for* Tos; Urquizu, *for* Urquiza. 5th line from bottom, "also others"—*not* that up to 30 women were shot—four women were executed; the others "up to 30," were not shot.

Page 219, line 13.—*After* sons, *add*, and husbands for his daughters.

Page 221, 10th line from bottom.—*After* doings of a dark dye, *add* shootings of progressive Carlist officers.

Page 335.—There was a Carlist Club at Zaragoza, composed of 1,200 members, who feared that at the annual civic feast of 5th March (the Carlist Cabanero's entry in 1838) there would be a demonstration against them.

Page 397.—*Add*, after Pius IX. raised the cry of liberty. Was this on the principle: "We will make use of the principle of freedom, in order to get the whip-hand of you all, and then we will trample on it." The Pope, in answer to an address, presented the 2nd May, 1870, by some 300 Roman Catholics of distinction, and read by the young Duke Dom Miguel de Braganza, said:—"I am accused of warring against modern society, which is untrue. The maxims of modern civilisation are, with certain exceptions, false. To falsehood we must oppose truth." *Qui s'excuse s'accuse.*

Page 408.—According to Lazeu Don Juan disapproved of the expedition, would have nothing to do with it, and returned to London. Don Fernando agreed to follow his brother Carlos; they went to the Balearic Islands.

Page 428.—From "Memoria" of Paul y Angulo, 1869, a Republican Deputy:—The Republicans were most active in bringing about the Revolution of September, 1868. The insidious plans of the Unionists, the immoral compliance of the Progressists, and the apostacy of some who called themselves Republicans, have made of the Revolution a falsity. Cadiz became the centre of the conspiracy, and where Republican influence was great; but it was kept back by the Progressists, who were partly the cause of Prim's failures in January and June, 1866. Gonzales Bravo's governmental excesses accelerated the arrangements with the garrisons of Ceuta, Seville, San Fernando, Cadiz, and other places. Prim's cry was "Down with the existing order of things, and up with National Sovereignty!" Serrano, Dulce, Rodas, and others, were banished to the Canaries by Bravo. The rising was to have taken place on the 9th of August, but the military leaders could not get to Cadiz. Prim, the Progressist and Democrat, was the favourite of the Republicans; Serrano of the Unionists. Topete, a Unionist, was compromised to Montpensier, who had advanced some money. *The Unionists had to agree* that Prim should come *to Cadiz at the same time* Serrano and the other officers came. Prim started from England in the steamer of the 12th September for

Gibraltar, accompanied by Sagasta, Zorilla, and Martinez, arriving on the 16th. He left at once in the steam-tug "Adelia," and at midnight he was in the Bay of Cadiz alongside of the "Zaragoza," to the visible disgust of Topete, whose plans for Montpensier were now upset. He received Prim coldly. At 1 p.m. on the 17th Topete gave the Regulation Vivas, also Vivas for Queen Isabella II.; but at that supreme moment was heard the sonorous voice of Prim, shouting "Long live National Sovereignty!" at which there was a most enthusiastic reply, and the guns of the fleet saluted the determination. San Fernando and the Carraca had risen. Early on the morning of the 19th the movements in the city of Cadiz commenced; Prim and Topete landed, the cry was "Death to the Bourbons." Prim named a Junta of Republicans, Unionists, and Progressists. (The military party soon brought about the bloody days of Cadiz and Malaga against the Republicans). Serrano and other banished generals arrived. Serrano soon left for Cordova; Prim and part of the fleet for Catalonia. The battle of Alcolea against the Isabelinos and despotism was fatal to the Queen, and she was deposed. The Junta of Madrid conferred power on Serrano, and the Republicans, who had initiated the Revolution, were ignored by Unionists, Progressists, and Democrats.

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